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Northern Ireland: British Plastic Bullets Kill; Decides IRA Gunrunning Not a Crime.

COUNTERSPY

THE MAGAZINE FOR PEOPLE WHO NEED TO KNOW

Vol. 7 No. 3 $2.00 March-May 1983

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN THE U.S.?
The Assassination of Two Seattle Unionists

Former International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union official Tony Baruso, owner of the murder weapon, shaking hands with Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos who himself is charged with involvement in the murders.

Also in this issue: **U.S. Military Aid to Guatemala; Soviet "Slave Labor" Charges Examined; IMF Moves to Roll Back Socialism in Vietnam; Green Berets; Eddie Carthan; Soviet "Active Measures?"; Nuclear War Documents.**

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Editorial

1983 is a crucial year for the disarmament movement. Either it will succeed in preventing the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe, or the Reagan administration's strategy for "peace through protracted nuclear war" will be an essential step closer to implementation.

That the administration is serious about preparations for war against the Soviet Union is demonstrated by its plan to shift the U.S. forces command center in Europe from Patch Barracks in Stuttgart, West Germany to an underground, $1 billion complex in the U.S. Air Force Base High Wycombe in England. When the war in Central Europe breaks out, the generals want to be safe. The rats are beginning to leave the sinking ship - West Germany.

As we wrote in the last issue of CounterSpy, the Pershing IIs to be deployed in West Germany are designed as decapitation weapons, that is, nuclear weapons which would "render ineffective the total Soviet and Soviet-allied military and political power structure." By destroying Soviet command and communications systems, they would allow time for other first strike weapons, including the cruise missiles, to destroy "Soviet nuclear and conventional forces and industrial centers critical to military power."

The Reagan administration claims that the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe is necessary to counter the Soviet SS20 missiles. However, the SS20s do not have the capability to destroy U.S. strategic command centers, strategic nuclear forces and industrial centers. Thus, the deployment of the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles would mean a change in the nuclear weapons balance from parity toward superiority for NATO.

The flight time of the Pershing II to the Soviet Union is less than ten minutes. The Soviet government has warned repeatedly that the Pershing II deployment will force it to change its policy to immediate launch-on-warning, i.e., any time its radar screens show incoming missiles, it would launch its nuclear weapons at once. There would be no time for the Soviets to check the accuracy of their computerized warning systems. The Pershing IIs would have destroyed their targets in the Soviet Union long before the authenticity of the warning could be ascertained.

The disarmanent movement in Europe has been particularly alert to these dangers and has focused on preventing the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles. Millions of Europeans have demonstrated against these first strike weapons; in West Germany, some three million people have signed an appeal against the missiles; two Italian bishops have spoken out against the cruise missile deployment in Sicily; and in Greenham Commons, the site where the missiles are to be deployed in England, thousands of women are engaged in a blockade and a 24-hour-a-day, winter-long protest at the construction site.

As a result of these protests, the West German government has been forced to insist that "only" 108 Pershing IIs are to be deployed,

Continued on page 4

CounterSpy Statement of Purpose: The United States emerged from World War II as the world's dominant political and economic power. To conserve and enhance this power, the U.S. government created a variety of institutions to secure dominance over "free world" nations which supply U.S. corporations with cheap labor, raw materials, and markets. A number of these institutions, some initiated jointly with allied Western European governments, have systematically violated the fundamental rights and freedoms of people in this country and the world over. Prominent among these creations was the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), born in 1947.

Since 1973, CounterSpy magazine has exposed and analyzed such intervention in all its facets: covert CIA operations, U.S. interference in foreign labor movements, U.S. aid in creating foreign intelligence agencies, multinational corporations-intelligence agency link-ups, and World Bank assistance for counterinsurgency, to name but a few. Our view is that while CIA operations have been one of the most infamous forms of intervention, the CIA is but one strand in a complex web of interference and control.

Our motivation for publishing CounterSpy has been two-fold:

- People in the U.S. have the right and need to know the scope and nature of their government's abrogation of U.S. and other citizens' rights and liberties in order to defend themselves and most effectively change the institutions.
- People in other countries, often denied access to information, can better protect their own rights and bring about necessary change when equipped with such information.

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Editors:

Konrad Ege
John Kelly

Board of Advisors:

Dr. Walden Bello
Director, Congress Task Force of the Philippine Solidarity Network

Robin Broad
PhD Candidate
Princeton University

John Cavanagh
Economist, United Nations

Dr. Noam Chomsky
Professor at MIT, Peace Activist

Dr. Joshua Cohen
Assistant Professor, MIT

Ruth Fitzpatrick
Member, Steering Committee of the Religious Task Force on Central America

Laurie Kirby
Professor, City University of New York

Tamar Kohns
Political activist

Annie Makhijani
Baker, nursing student

Dr. Arjun Makhijani
Consultant on energy and economic development

Martha Wenger,
Office worker,
CounterSpy's *copy editor*

[Organizations for identification only]

Cover design:

Johanna Vogelsang

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News NOT in the News

US European War Headquarters Move

Large numbers of people may die in the next European war, but the U.S. Generals based there are trying to make sure that they will be in a safe place. This is why Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger directs in his Guidance for Fiscal Years 1984-88 that the U.S. must be prepared to move its European war headquarters from Patch Barracks in Stuttgart, West Germany to England by 1986.

When the London Guardian reported this move in early December 1982, both the West German government and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher issued immediate denials. Thatcher labeled the Guardian article "fundamentally incorrect," and West German government spokesperson Sudhoff declared: "There are no such plans."

The Pentagon was stuck. It could not issue an all-out denial because Weinberger had asked for funds for exactly that project in his budget request for Fiscal Year 1983. Col. William Baker of the U.S. European Command (EUCOM) explained to the House Armed Services Committee in March 1982 why a new headquarters was needed: "Prior to 1967, . . , Headquarters EUCOM was located near Paris. . . . As part of the French direction for foreign forces to leave her soil, we had to leave. We could not go to Belgium, they would not accept a national-only headquarters." But the West German government was happy to oblige. "We were forced to go to Patch barracks in Stuttgart, Germany. We went there because it provided the only facilities that could accommodate Headquarters EUCOM." But, said Baker, Patch Barracks is an unacceptable location. It is too close to the border with East Germany and the barracks "provide nothing in the way of protection."

The new facilities will be a $1 billion underground complex. NATO Commander Gen. Bernard Rogers told Congress the facility will be hardened and remote, and thus provides "reasonable assurance of HQ USEUCOM survival during wartime." The Pentagon refuses to disclose the location of this new headquarters; however, only very few U.S. facilities in Europe would fit the general description given by Rogers and Baker. The London Observer concluded that the headquarters is being built at the U.S. Air Force base High Wycombe in England. The site was reportedly selected in 1981.

Rogers calls the construction of the new headquarters a "pressing military requirement." To many in the European peace movement, though, the decision to move U.S. headquarters from West Germany to England is just one more signal that the U.S. government, in case of war, is expecting Central Europe to be destroyed while it believes that other areas of the world - possibly even England and certainly the United States, might make it through the war with relatively minor damage.

Editorial continued

and not the more than 300 the U.S. government wanted. The Danish government has even withdrawn its share of funding for the missile deployment.

Attention in the United States has been focused primarily on demands for an overall freeze in nuclear weapons production and deployment, but the U.S. movement is becoming more and more aware of the immediacy of the need to work against the Pershing II and cruise missile deployment. Funding for the Pershing II has come under increasing scrutiny in Congress.

The gains of the U.S. and European nuclear disarmament movement are palpable, but as yet limited. The movement must work out a specific strategy for coordinating actions in the United States and Europe to stop the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles and even the further production of these weapons.

The victory must be won this year.

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Pershing Missile Accidents

The residents of a small West German village, Waldprechtsweier, won't soon forget that day: On November 2, 1982, a U.S. Army missile transport truck driving through town suddenly lost its brakes. It crashed into several cars, killing one person. The missile fell off the truck.

Almost immediately, U.S. troops, aided by West German police, sealed off Waldprechtsweier. Civil defense personnel from Karlsruhe, a city of several hundred thousand people 20 miles away, were put on alert. The first statement by an official at the scene was startling: the missile was armed with a nuclear warhead. Other officials immediately issued a denial. They identified the missile as a Pershing Ia with no nuclear warhead. (There are well over 100 U.S. Pershing Ia missiles in West Germany; they are less accurate and have a shorter range than the Pershing IIs to be deployed in December 1983.) It took U.S. experts four hours to defuse the missile.

Things seemed to return to normal. But then came the order: evacuate the village. 1,200 people were forced to leave their homes. Police then entered the houses, apparently to make sure no one had stayed behind. The missile was transferred to another truck, camouflaged, and taken out of Waldprechtsweier.

To many of the local residents, all this didn't make much sense. If people had been evacuated because of the danger of an explosion, why wasn't this done before the missile was defused? Presumably, there were other reasons for the evacuation: U.S. officials certainly did not want people to inspect the missile, or take pictures.

Some West German observers speculate, though, that the prime reason people were forced away from the missile crash site was to hide the fact that the missile was not really a Pershing Ia, but rather a Pershing II missile. If that were true, the very presence of the missile on West German soil in 1982 would be a serious violation of the 1979 NATO agreement to deploy the Pershing IIs beginning in 1983 only if arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union have failed.

A certain amount of evidence to back up this suspicion exists. In fact, the first journalists on the scene, from the Badische Neueste Nachrichten, were told that the missile was a Pershing II. U.S. Army Liaison Officer Jack Hoffner's response did not deny the Nachrichten article stating that the missile was a Pershing II. Instead, he said that officials would not comment on whether it was a Pershing II or a Pershing Ia.

At the time of the accident, the U.S. Army had several Pershing IIs in its arsenal, built with money appropriated for Fiscal Years 1981 and 1982. Although the Army, as of December 1982, had yet to conduct a successful Pershing II testflight, the Pentagon has continued to produce Pershing II missiles.

Accidents involving nuclear weapons have become a routine occurrence in West Germany. On the very same day of the Waldprechtsweier accident, another Pershing missile transport truck crashed in southern Germany; in August 1982, in a near-catastrophe, a missile transporter caught fire in the middle of a town in the southwest; and in February 1982 and in February 1981, the fuel of a Pershing Ia missile burst into flames after an accident. The parents of a West German soldier who died of blood cancer, possibly due to radiation exposure in a maneuver accident involving a Pershing Ia missile, are suing the West German government and demanding more information about the death of their son.

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Love Thy Missiles

The Pentagon loves its bombs and missiles. It attributes life and fertility to things nuclear. Atom bombs have "delivery systems." Bombs and missiles have "generations" and "shelters" which must be "survivable." Plutonium, from which bombs are made, is "bred" from "fertile" uranium.

Bombs have names. The first one was "Fat Man," in honor of Winston Churchill's girth. The one dropped on Hiroshima was slender by comparison and was named "Little Boy." These bombs had a "father": physicist Robert Oppenheimer. The hydrogen bomb's "father" was Edward Teller. When nuclear bombs knock out others in the same arsenal, it is "fratricide." The rite of raising a missile to its vertical position ready for "warhead delivery" is called "missile erection."

Dean Acheson, President Truman's Secretary of State, was so carried away by this modern nuclear family that he entitled his memoirs Present at the Creation. He took the phrase from Alphonso X, king of Spain from 1252-84, who said: "Had I been present at the creation I would have given some useful hints for the better ordering of the universe."

CIA Sees Red

In a recent CIA-style "geography lesson," CIA Director William Casey displayed a map of the world to an American Legion meeting in Chicago. Countries on the map "under a significant degree of Soviet influence" were bright red. Casey claimed that "when this map was finished 50 nations were in red. Only ten years ago, in a similar map I had prepared, only half as many of the nations of the world were colored in red."

Proof? "We can't provide any of those statistics," CIA spokesperson Dale Peterson, told the Washington Post. "I have checked into it very carefully. The information used for those maps was classified." (Rest assured, Casey was not arrested for disclosing classified information.) One country surprisingly splashed in red was El Salvador. This was because El Salvador "faced an insurgency backed by the Soviets and their proxies," Casey explained.

This simplistic propaganda may be laughable, but it is still an instance of the insidiously effective "big lie" technique: constant repetition by a supposedly expert official such as CIA Director Casey.

Soviet Economy

Is the Soviet economy really a "basket case," as Reagan administration officials are fond of claiming? Between 1950 and 1980, the Soviet Gross National Product rose annually by an average of 4.7 percent; industrial production by 6.8 percent; agricultural production by 2.8 percent; and per capita consumption by 3.5 percent. These are CIA figures - results of the most extensive study on the Soviet economy the CIA's Directorate for Intelligence has ever conducted. Entitled "U.S.S.R.: Measures of Economic Growth and Development, 1950-80," and published in December 1982, the study also concludes that the Soviet standard of living has been improving year by year since 1950, and that Soviet military expenditures have grown at the same yearly rate as the Gross National Product since the 1961 Cuban missile crisis. The study contradicts two basic premises of the Reagan policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union: that Soviet military expenditures have risen dramatically in recent years, and that the Soviet economy is threatened with collapse thereby providing the opportunity for the U.S. to coerce the Soviet Union with economic sanctions.

CIA in Chad

New evidence has confirmed that the CIA, in the process of running covert operations against Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, has been pulling strings in Libya's southern neighbor, Chad. "Reliable" (presumably U.S. government) sources told Newsweek that "two separate covert actions have been aimed at [Qaddafi]. One was designed to stir up trouble for him in Chad," where a

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Libyan peacekeeping force with a mandate from both the Chadian government and the Organization of African Unity (hardly an "occupation force," as Newsweek characterized it) was in place (11/8/82).

While the evidence of CIA involvement is new, CounterSpy earlier reported (vol. 7 no.1) the U.S. role in funding, arming and training the Forces Armees du Nord (FAN), the private army of former Chadian defense minister Hissene Habre. Habre's army captured the Chadian capital of Ndjamena and ousted the government of Goukouni Oueddi on June 7, 1982. Habre, according to the New York Times, was "at one stage supplied with arms by Egypt." Egypt, of course, was able to supply the arms because it is receiving massive military aid from the U.S.

The U.S. role in Chad would appear to be parallel to the U.S. role vis-a-vis Afghanistan. In both cases, Egypt has been a key conduit for weapons. In the case of Afghanistan, the CIA aided the Afghan "rebels" by sending them weapons via Pakistan with the active support of Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq. In the case of Chad, the weapons went to Habre's forces via Sudan, with the active support of Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiri.

After capturing power in the capital city, Habre's forces continued fighting to consolidate their grip over the country. Chad suffered throughout the summer of 1982 from a famine caused by a drought and by the destruction of crops in the wake of Habre's army's march on the capital. Habre withheld relief supplies from those parts of the country where his opponents were still in control. The International Committee of the Red Cross reported in September and October 1982 that people were continuing to die of hunger because of catastrophic food shortages. Meanwhile, Habre's forces moved into southern Chad where they defeated Wadal Abd al-Kader Kamougue's Forces Armees Tchadiennes which had controlled that part of the country.

The U.S. and its allies reportedly continued to be deeply involved in that war. In coordination with the U.S., Zaire's contingent of the OAU peacekeeping force - which was supposed to keep Habre's and Oueddi's forces apart - remained an extra month in Chad to help Habre consolidate power after the contingents from Nigeria and Senegal had left. Moreover, the U.S. sent arms to Habre. According to West Africa (10/4/82): "American C-130 transport planes recently delivered arms to Ndjamena."

The CIA's operation in Chad has been screened from public scrutiny by the prominence of another highly visible CIA operation, the CIA-backed war to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. A comparable situation arose during the Senate Intelligence Committee investigation of the CIA in 1975: while attention was focused on its subversion in Angola, the CIA was able to help install pro-U.S. governments in Portugal and Australia.

Newsweek, in fact, reported that besides Nicaragua there are at least ten countries in which the CIA is presently supporting paramilitary efforts. What countries these are is not publicly known, but it is not hard to think of ten countries where ongoing paramilitary campaigns might be favorable to U.S. government interests: Afghanistan is one such case. Cambodia and Iran are probably two more. Vietnam? Laos? Syria? Lebanon? Libya? Angola? Mozambique? - Jeff McConnell -

Costa Rica

The CIA's Honduras-based war to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua is probably one of the most overt "covert operations" the CIA has ever run. In addition to Honduras, though, Costa Rica might be about to become a second major base for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and their CIA allies. A series of articles in the Mexican daily Excelsior in August 1982 indicates that the anti-Sandinista forces in Costa Rica, with the assistance of the CIA and at least the acquiescence of key sectors

of the Costa Rican government, have been increasingly active. Excelsior made these revelations:

- As of August 1982, there were ten areas of concentrated anti-Sandinista activity in Costa Rica, including seven camps with some 1,000 persons each, along the border with Nicaragua.

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The camps have been supported by local Costa Rican landholders whose cooperation has been bought with money coming from the United States, much of it from ex-Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's son and from Heberto Sanchez, Defense Minister under Somoza. The money is also used to pay people to get them to work with the counterrevolutionary groups.

● The counterrevolutionaries also have set up a network of safehouses in urban areas. As of August, there were nine safehouses in the city of Liberia in the department of Guana Caste, with an average of five people in each. One safehouse, located 200 meters from the Institute of Aqueducts and Drainage in Liberia, housed a radio transmitter. Across from this house was another where Oscar Ruiz, owner of a local cinema, stored arms and was installing another transmitter. Next to a Liberia cafeteria called El Bamboo, its owner Denis Baltodano rented a house to store food. His tenant was Guillermo Morice, relative of Luis Morice, a suspected counterrevolutionary leader. Meetings among leaders were held in Hotel Bramadero.

● Eden Pastora, a former Sandinista commander now working against the Sandinistas, has never had any military support in Costa Rica. Former members of Somoza's infantry school - such as Denis Pineda - largely direct the paramilitary activities.

● The counterrevolutionaries, according to Excelsior, despite public statements to the contrary, by Costa Rican President Monge, "act with the impunity that only comes from official support." However, Excelsior reports splits in Monge's cabinet over this issue, and a clean-up operation shortly after Monge took office forced the counterrevolutionaries to set up the safehouse network and start using mobile camps.

● The counterrevolutionaries are deeply enmeshed in the illegal market in U.S. dollars. Cazero Milian, a Cuban involved in this multi-million dollar market who is reportedly connected with U.S. intelligence agencies, traffics in drugs, diamonds and gold as well.

● Along the length of the border there are a great number of clandestine landing strips. A U.S. citizen, John Hull, takes off from one of these strips in Los Chiles to terrorize population centers just inside Nicaragua with machine gun attacks.

CounterSpy is available in microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Dept. PR, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; or 30-32 Mortimer St., Dept. PR, London W19 7RA, England. CounterSpy is indexed in Alternative Press Index, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore, MD 21218.

Nugan Hand Bank I

For more than a year, the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee has been secretly examining the Nugan Hand Bank, an Australian bank with close ties to the CIA. (The Bank collapsed in early 1980, and the Australian media has since put together a detailed account of the bank's involvement with the CIA and major international drug smugglers.*)

The Senate investigation indicates that U.S. officials are more concerned about the Nugan Hand affair than they care to admit in public. So far, the CIA has denied any connections to the bank. Revelations in Australia, though, indicate that the CIA used the bank to funnel money to political parties and to finance other operations.

When an Australian narcotics agent, Joe Volkman, wrote in a 1977 report that Frank Nugan and Michael Hand, the principals of the bank, were "the biggest thing in respect to drug smuggling Australia had ever seen," high ranking Australian officials told the Narcotics Bureau not to go too far in an investigation of Nugan Hand. Volkman testified under oath before a government commission of inquiry several years later that officials wanted to quash that investigation "because of [Nugan's and Hand's] relationship with intelligence agencies," specifically the CIA. (National Times, 10/31-11/6/82).

The Narcotics Bureau investigation into the Nugan Hand matter was subsequently halted, and most of the indicting material disappeared from the Nugan Hand file. Shortly after Volkman made these allegations against the Nugan Hand Bank, the government tried to silence him further and charged him with conspiracy to smuggle protected fauna out of Australia. The case against him was kept alive for several years with the help of no less than 58 government witnesses — costing Volkman $90,000 in legal fees. Finally, a Supreme Court judge decided the case was "absurd," and Volkman was found not guilty.

Volkman has yet another story to tell: according to one of his informants (who Volkman claims has since been killed in the U.S.), the CIA was smuggling drugs to Australia in the late 1970s

(*Other articles on Nugan Hand and the CIA in Australia published in CounterSpy are: "U.S.-Australian Role in East Timor Genocide," (vol. 4 no. 2); "CIA Banking in Australia: Nugan Hand," (vol. 5 no. 2); "Australia: A Nice U.S. Colony," (vol. 5 no. 2); "ASIO Names," "ASIO: Made in U.S.A.," (vol. 5 no. 3); "Australia 1975," (vol. 6 no. 1); "CIA in Australia," (vol. 6 no. 4); "CIA in Australia," (vol. 7 no. 2).

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via the CIA's Pine Gap intelligence facility in central Australia. The drugs were said to have been flown in on regular U.S. Air Force planes supplying other goods to the CIA base. Flying Tigers airline, which used to fly into Pine Gap, was also said to be involved in the heroin smuggling operation. Flying Tigers, a U.S. company, has a certain expertise in such business: it helped the CIA transport heroin out of Southeast Asia during the U.S. war in Indochina.

Nugan Hand Bank II

After months of stalling, an Australian government commission investigating the Nugan Hand affair has finally released a heavily censored document summarizing its findings. The report provides further evidence that the Nugan Hand Bank may have been controlled by the CIA. It also documents that bank's involvement in illegal arms sales to the White Rhodesian regime in the mid-1970s and its practice of laundering money for heroin smuggling operations.

Commonwealth–New South Wales Joint Task Force on Drug Trafficking Report

Investigation of Harry Wainwright, Nugan Hand Limited and its associated companies, and the affairs of Murray Stewart Riley and his associates, as recommended by the Further Report of the Royal Commission into Drug Trafficking, May 1980

Volume 2: Nugan Hand (Part 1)

June 1982

Apparently the Australian investigators were not entirely convinced by repeated U.S. government assurances that "there was no connection between the CIA and Nugan Hand." Instead, they confirm that numerous U.S. citizens with close ties to intelligence agencies and the U.S. military were involved in the bank. Gaining additional information about the role of these people — such as former CIA Director William Colby, former CIA operative Dale Holmgreen, Brig. Gen. Edwin Black, and Bank director Michael Hand, a former Green Beret and CIA operative himself - is crucial in understanding the bank. Concludes the report: "Their role as a collective and any relationship which might have existed with other persons, be they intelligence personnel or whoever, is essential if there is to be any hope that the fundamental question: who controlled the bank and was therefore responsible for its actions? is to be answered."

This conclusion presents a problem to Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser. He has so far steadfastly denied any CIA involvement in the Nugan Hand Bank, referring to CIA assurances to that effect. Now he is left in a position of disputing major segments of a report prepared under his orders.

Documents released by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency to the Tribune (Sydney) under the Freedom of Information Act might put the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency in an equally awkward situation: the heavily censored documents prove that the DEA had files on the Nugan Hand Bank as early as 1977. Yet the DEA took no steps to halt the bank's involvement in heroin deals which the Australian government report confirms began in the mid-1970s and continued until the bank's collapse in 1980.

West German Terror Squad

In the late 1970s, it was recently revealed, West German intelligence had plans to "eliminate" and "liquidate" the "leading European cadres of terrorist organizations." During the same period, intelligence officers were laying the groundwork for establishing their own "terror group" which would carry out armed operations as a means to infiltrate the "real" terror groups. These revelations have come to light in West Germany in the course of the Hans Langemann affair. (Langemann, a former officer of the Bundesnachrichtendienst, West Germany's CIA,

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Features

Foreign Intelligence Operations in the U.S.?

The Assassination of Two Seattle Unionists

by Teresa Rodriguez

Late in the afternoon of June 1, 1981, Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, officers of Seattle's Cannery Workers' Union of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) were working in their union offices. Two gunmen entered and shot them in cold blood. Viernes died instantly; Domingo lived another 24 hours - long enough to name the two assailants.

Now, a year and a half later, new evidence strongly suggests that those who pulled the trigger were acting under the orders of the government of Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines. Further, a support group called the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes (CJDV) is convinced that a Marcos plot to kill the two unionists could not have been implemented without the knowledge, if not the cooperation, of U.S. intelligence agencies.

The Committee for Justice was formed immediately after the assassination, by family members, friends and political associates of the murdered men. It has been instrumental in bringing the two men who did the killing to justice. During its investigation, the CJDV also discovered the existence of a "Philippine Infiltration Plan" outlining the activities of Philippine intelligence in the United States. The Plan has been in operation since 1973 but was only revealed in secret testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1979.

Based on these investigation results implicating the Marcos regime as the originator of the assassination plot and the U.S. government as a collaborator or at least a silent partner in the cover-up, the victims' families and close associates filed a civil suit in the U.S. District Court in Seattle on September 14, 1982. The lawsuit charges high officials in the Philippine and U.S. governments with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of Viernes and Domingo. Among those named in the suit are Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, FBI Director William Webster, Director of Naval Intelligence S. Shapiro, Director of Naval Investigative Service J.R. Soriano and former president of Local 37 of the ILWU Constantine "Tony" Baruso. The families seek $30 million in damages as well as a court injunction to stop Philippine intelligence agents from harassing, surveilling and physically intimidating anti-Marcos activists of Filipino ancestry in the U.S.

The Victims

Domingo and Viernes were leaders of a reform movement in Local 37 of the ILWU. Both were 29-year-old Filipino-Americans, born in this country to working class families. At the time of their deaths, they held key elected positions in Local 37 - Viernes was dispatcher and Domingo was secretary treasurer - a sign that the rank

Teresa Rodriguez is the Washington, D.C. coordinator of the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes. The address of the Committee's main office is P.O. Box 14304, Seattle, Washington 98114; the Washington, D.C. office is at 1322 18th Street, NW, Room 44, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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and file reform movement they led was gaining influence in the union membership of about 1,200 cannery workers, most of them Filipinos and many of them women. The reform movement was beginning to confront a leadership that had preyed on workers through corrupt practices and had signed numerous lucrative "sweetheart" deals with the fishing and canning industry.

Both men were up-and-coming trade union leaders whom the union's old guard leadership and the Alaska canning industry were watching very closely. Viernes, as a teenager, had led a hunger strike by cannery workers. A few years later, he and Domingo filed a successful anti-discrimination suit on behalf of Filipino and Eskimo workers. By 1981, they were openly confronting the industry again, this time with a burgeoning rank-and-file movement behind them. (This movement was not halted by their deaths. It won a sweeping victory in the September 1982 Local 37 elections, capturing all the union posts.)

Domingo and Viernes were also leading members of the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP), a national organization of socialists working in the Filipino community since 1973. The KDP organizes Filipinos against racial and national discrimination and is at the center of the U.S.-based opposition to the Marcos dictatorship. Philippine consular officials and pro-Marcos leaders in Seattle hated Domingo for his outspoken challenge to their aim of mobilizing community support for the dictator. Viernes, too, was beginning to play a more visible role in the Seattle anti-Marcos movement. Both consistently voiced their opposition to Marcos within the ILWU, much to the displeasure of the pro-Marcos old guard, including Local 37 president Tony Baruso. It was this aspect of their work, coinciding with the threat to interests of the old guard posed by the reform movement in the union, that led to their political assassination.

The Motive for the Murders

In April 1981 Viernes took his first trip to the Philippines. There he met with leaders of the militant Philippine labor federation, the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU - May 1st Movement) including its chairperson, Felixberto Olalia. With them he worked out a plan to bring the condition of workers in the Philippines to the attention of the U.S. labor movement.

One month later, Viernes and Domingo took action on that plan at the International Convention of the ILWU in Hawaii. There they led the fight for an ILWU resolution to send a labor investigating team to the Philippines, a fight they won despite bitter opposition from

Gene Viernes

Silme Domingo

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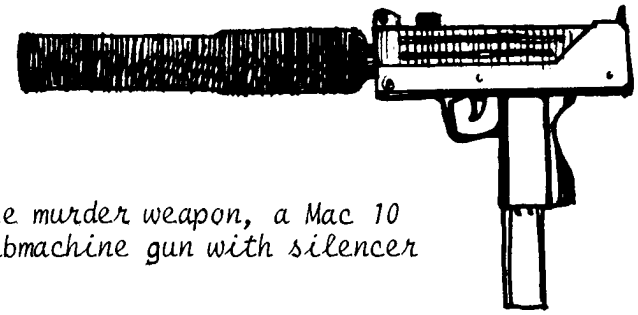
diehard pro-Marcos Filipinos who were also members of the union.

Although there is nothing spectacular about a conference resolution, this particular one, combined with Viernes' previous meeting with KMU leadership in Manila, was apparently read as a threat by the Marcos regime. This would become more evident a year after the murders.

On August 13, 1982, prior to his U.S. visit, Marcos unleashed a vicious crackdown on the Philippine labor movement. KMU leaders, including Felixberto Olalia, were arrested. Marcos accused them of plotting to undermine and overthrow his government through "economic sabotage." He charged that the plot was part of an "international conspiracy," placed the army on red alert, called up 1.5 million reservists to deal with possible "civil disturbances" during his U.S. sojourn, and formed a 1,500-man hit squad with shoot-to-kill orders. It killed 32 "criminal elements" in ten days.

Marcos' cries of "subversion" and "international conspiracy" reflect his fear of the KMU's growing influence in a country where unemployment is at 40 percent and where real wages have fallen by over 30 percent since 1972, when martial rule was imposed. KMU has directly challenged Marcos' economic strategy of attracting foreign investments by advertising the availability of cheap labor. More and more workers had been leaving government-controlled unions to swell KMU's ranks to half a million. Furthermore, the KMU leadership has made it explicit that Filipino labor will not be free until the whole nation is "liberated from U.S. domination" and from Marcos' rule.

Marcos is also worried by the concentration of this growing labor movement in urban areas, particularly the capital, Metro-Manila. Now that he is getting on in age and is probably ill, the succession to his presidency has his U.S. sponsors worried as well. Marcos must orchestrate this succession without precipitating an internecine squabble within the ruling coalition for which he serves as glue. The last thing he needs is for this squabble to break open while labor-based urban unrest is knocking at his gate. A "clean-up" of the political environment is therefore in order — is indeed in progress, with more arrests, this time focusing on church activists and reformist opponents.



The murder weapon, a Mac 10 submachine gun with silencer

Baruso also had long-standing ties to the Marcos regime, . . . He is a frequent and well-received visitor to Marcos' Malacanang Palace in Manila, and maintains close ties with pro-Marcos cronies up and down the West Coast.

The Philippine president has been looking closely at the KMU's growing power (it has led hundreds of strikes despite the official ban) and presumably at whoever this militant federation is linking itself up with. It is not surprising, then, that when Viernes returned from his trip, he intimated that he felt closely watched in the Philippines especially after he attended a few KMU public meetings.

Apart from any immediate threats the Marcos regime may have read into Viernes' trip and the ILWU resolution, there was every reason for these actions to jar the memories of both the Philippine and U.S. intelligence authorities. They signalled an attempt to reforge the ties between the progressive wing of the U.S. labor movement and its counterpart in the Philippines. This link had existed in the 1940s when progressive Filipino ILWU leaders based in Seattle actively supported the Congress of Labor Organizations in the Philippines, a labor federation destroyed because of its ties with the communist Huk rebellion there in the 1950s. The U.S. government actively severed this link and attempted to deport the progressive Filipino ILWU leaders.

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Baruso: the Link to Marcos

Evidence compiled by the Committee for Justice all but eliminates the original theory that a dispute over union reforms might have been the motive for the murders. Jimmy Ramil and Ben Guloy, the two men convicted as the gunmen, belonged to the notorious Tulisan gang which acted as "muscle" for the high-stakes gambling establishment operated by Local 37's old guard. According to The Weekly, a Seattle magazine, "during the late 1970s, ... young Filipino street gangs began staking out their turfs" in Seattle's Chinatown. "The most powerful of these gangs were said to be the Tulisans, who were said to provide 'protection' and deal the games at two gambling houses on King Street.... They were also hired to help run the games in the canneries (August 4, 1982)."

These gambling operations were definitely threatened by the union reforms. But the manner in which the murders were committed was a radical departure from the gang's usual operation mode. The police are well acquainted with the gang's activites, according to the Seattle Post Intelligencer (see article on July 6, 1981). Reportedly, the Tulisans usually trap and kill their victims in some dark alley or parking lot at night - after the customary warnings and beatings. But Viernes and Domingo were killed without warning in the local union hall and in broad daylight.

Moreover, the gang's convicted leader Tony Dictado* stated at his own trial in April 1982 that the killings had "nothing to do with gambling;" that he knew who ordered the killings but feared for the safety of his family in the Philippines. In an effort to absolve Dictado, his defense lawyer fingered Local 37 president Tony Baruso as the plotter. The prosecution also pointed to Baruso and his link to the Tulisan gang and successfully convicted Dictado for his involvement in the killings. Union head Tony Baruso had many reasons to want to get rid of Viernes and Domingo. As the leader of the old guard, he was in growing danger of losing his grip on the union. Since the late 1950s, Local 37, according to The Weekly, had been "administered through an 'old boy' coziness with the companies and tolerance of petty corruption at the union hall." The wages of cannery workers "did not keep pace with the gains made by other segments of organized labor, and in the union, bribing the dispatcher or a foreman came to be expected from first-time workers or others with low seniority." This was the old system - represented by Baruso - challenged by a rank and file that was demanding fairness based on trade union principles, accountability of the leadership to the members, and an end to corruption.

Baruso also had long-standing ties to the Marcos regime. Hailing from the same northern province as the dictator, Baruso has been an important Marcos supporter within the union and within the U.S. Filipino community. He is a frequent and well-received visitor to Marcos' Malacanang Palace in Manila, and maintains close ties with pro-Marcos cronies up and down the

It is difficult not to consider Baruso, the main link to Marcos, as a prime suspect.

*Seattle's The Weekly reported on August 4, 1982, that Dictado, a former policeman and prison guard in the Philippines, emerged as the leader of the Tulisan gang after engaging in a power struggle with the former Tulisan boss who lost his union dispatcher post to Viernes. That boss was killed in the conflict.

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West Coast. Many of these political connections are made through the Caballeros Dimasalang, a secret Filipino lodge with close ties to Marcos.

Baruso frequently clashed with Viernes and Domingo in the union and in the Filipino community over their anti-Marcos political views. Baruso was reportedly "called to the carpet" at the Seattle Philippine consulate after the ILWU resolution on unions in the Philippines passed at the convention. But in a cryptic change of heart, the consulate honored Baruso six months after the slayings for "Outstanding Service to the Overseas Filipino Community" - after he had been arrested as a prime suspect but released, and in the midst of the raging controversy over the murders.

It is difficult not to consider Baruso, the main link to Marcos, as a prime suspect. This point was clearly expressed by an editorial on King TV in Seattle in November 1982:

The Prosecutor has said there is not enough evidence to charge Baruso, but you should not think there isn't evidence. Tony Baruso was the head of the union the two young men were trying to reform... Baruso was unseated by the two men. It was Tony Baruso's gun which killed Domingo and Viernes. Baruso told the police a number of stories about that gun. The last one being that it was stolen....Prosecution witness Robert San Pablo testified [he was told that] Baruso wanted Domingo and Viernes dead and put up a $5,000 contract to waste them.... But the overriding suspicion here is that Tony Baruso may be getting some kind of protection from the United States government. The double murder wasn't over gambling or kickbacks, it was somehow connected with the anti-Marcos movement....

Tony Baruso remains free. That there are forces in high places trying to protect him from prosecution is suggested by a number of events.

"Marcos Can't Disclaim Responsibility"

CounterSpy interviewed Bill Davis of the Christic Institute in December 1982. He is an investigator for the Committee for Justice for Domingo and Viernes.

What is the Marcos connection to the murders of the Seattle unionists Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo?

It is not entirely clear that Marcos personally had something to do with the murders. He might have. There is a lot of circumstantial evidence to implicate the Marcos government.

When Gene Viernes visited the Philippines less than a year before his death in 1981, he met with labor leaders there, people who are not part of a yellow union, a government union. Gene was establishing links with them through the International Longshoremen's Union. That kind of activity, of course, makes dictators paranoid. They are afraid of organized labor, and they are very afraid of a bad image in the U.S. because they know very well that that is their base of power. So the worst of all possible worlds for them is someone to connect labor dissent in their own country and labor in another country, particularly in the U.S.

On his way back from the Philippines, Gene Viernes stopped in Hawaii, went to a Longshoremen's conference there, personally drafted and marshalled through the floor process a resolution on the Philippines which was really only mildly anti-Marcos. It was simply on behalf of free labor in the Philippines. It requested that the union support a fact-finding mission to the Philippines to look into labor rights.

Several things happened after that. Word went out that Tony Baruso, the head of Local 37 (of which Viernes and Domingo were members) "had let things get out of hand." It was Tony Baruso's gun that was used in the murder. The U.S. government is now dragging its feet. They won't indict Baruso even though the prosecutor has already said, on the record, in court, that Baruso was involved in planning this murder. So when you put the circumstantial evidence together, it looks as if Viernes and Domingo were killed because of their support of anti-Marcos activities in the union.

There are reports that the Phil-

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The Committee for Justice believes the powers protecting Baruso are high officials of the U.S. government who are trying to stymie his prosecution in order to protect a diplomatic baby: the Marcos regime.

The Cover-up

The FBI eagerly entered the murder case in June 1981. After an initial period of intense investigation, the FBI reported substantial evidence of Baruso's involvement in racketeering. But the agency's enthusiasm soon petered out. Six months after the start of the probe, the agent in charge, Lee Zavala, resigned from the FBI, privately expressing his frustration over lack of support from his superior, George Fisher. It was at the same time that the FBI suddenly changed its tune on Baruso. Instead of prosecuting him, the FBI reported it was considering giving Baruso immunity in the racketeering case "to obtain more evidence on Dictado," who was being tried.

Then in March 1982, the Department of Labor submitted a report to the U.S. Attorney which established that Baruso had embezzled union funds. Still, the U.S. attorney's office refused to move against Baruso, and the FBI's and the U.S. attorney's racketeering probe

ippine government had agents spying on Viernes and Domingo in the United States, even though they are U.S. citizens.

Yes. A number of foreign governments have agents operating in this country - Taiwan, Chile, Iran under the Shah. We don't know yet how many Philippine agents there are in the U.S., and who they are. But that's the kind of thing that this case would like to discover. It's unlikely that this case is ever going to be able to punish the Marcos government directly, but it is quite likely that it will uncover how that government operates in the U.S., and how our own government cooperates with it.

You mentioned Baruso's relations with the Philippine government.

We know that Baruso is known on a first-name basis in Malacanang Palace (Marcos' residence), that he is known both by name and by sight to the guards on the front; he makes frequent trips there. We know that he has a U.S. security clearance in Seattle for his work at Boeing Aircraft. We also know that Baruso has a lot of contacts with the underworld....We would like to put all these things together and ask Mr. Baruso under oath what specific relations he has both to Philippine and U.S. intelligence.

How did Baruso get off?

The government simply refused to indict him. That's what one frequently finds in the U.S. justice system, that government officials will indict people up to a certain level, indict the shooters, for instance. But as soon as it starts to go up the ladder, as soon as it starts touching political connections, they suddenly use prosecutorial discretion and decide that they don't have enough evidence to prosecute. When that happens, there is little people can do about it except file a civil suit, which is what the Seattle case involves now. It is a civil complaint, asking for money damages and asking the court for subpoena power and discovery power to get at some of these questions. One of the interesting things about the civil suit is the petition for injunctive relief. That is to say it is asking that the court order the federal government to stop allowing foreign agents to operate in that kind of intimidating way in the U.S.

It is kind of immaterial whether Marcos personally knew about the murders or whether he ordered them personally . . . It is his government, the government for which he is personally responsible. That is particularly true for a dictatorship such as he has.

So Marcos is trying to influence the Filipino community in the U.S. and people in the U.S. in general to convince them that things are fine in the Philippines - and Domingo and Viernes didn't fit into that picture?

Yes, and most importantly Marcos wants to influence public opinion in the U.S. because he knows if people here really understood the situation in the Philippines they wouldn't support him. If the U.S. doesn't support him, Marcos comes down like a streamlined anvil. He knows that. So he is very worried about any increase in the opposition, particularly if it comes from labor, and particularly if it links up with U.S. labor.

It is kind of immaterial whether Marcos personally knew about the murders or whether he ordered them personally....It may have been some other lower official who actually gave the order. But...it is his government, the government for which he is personally responsible. That is particularly true for a dictatorship such as he has. He can't disclaim responsibility for what goes on under him.

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virtually ground to a halt. Norm Maleng, the Washington State criminal prosecuting attorney who enthusiastically went after and convicted the two gunmen, has also become cool to the idea of indicting Baruso. Despite Baruso's ownership of the murder weapon, despite witnesses to his role as the organizer of the murders and a host of other evidence, Maleng announced in November 1982 that he would not prosecute.

The Committee for Justice believes the powers protecting Baruso are high officials of the U.S. government who are trying to stymie his prosecution in order to protect a diplomatic baby: the Marcos regime. The U.S. government certainly has vital interests at stake. U.S. corporations have $2.5 billion invested in the Philippines, and Marcos is the guardian of Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base - major components of U.S. military leverage in the region, in the Indian Ocean and in the Persian-Arabian Gulf. In exchange for U.S. support, Marcos has pledged to allow the U.S. government unlimited use of these bases and to protect them from a revolutionary movement headed by the National Democratic Front (NDF).

Given the strong U.S.-Philippine intelligence ties, it is highly probable that the assassinations took place with the knowledge of U.S. intelligence authorities. The Union of Democratic Filipinos has learned from files obtained under the Freedom of Information Act that the FBI and U.S. Naval Intelligence have been keeping a close watch on their organization. Furthermore, U.S. intelligence has a direct window into Philippine intelligence operations: the U.S. built up the Philippine military establishment from scratch. It began as a group of Macabebe mercenaries during the Filipino-American war at the turn of the century. Now it is a sophisticated institution. Key Filipino intelligence operatives have been trained in the United States or come to this country for "continuing education." The Philippine Infiltration Plan, of which U.S. intelligence agencies were undoubtedly aware, reportedly "did not discount the use of physical violence" against Marcos opponents in the U.S.

U.S. "higher-ups" would seem to be the only ones with sufficient power to orchestrate the sophisticated cover-up that is endangering the progress of the Domingo-Viernes case. At the closing of the trial of gangleader Dictado - the man who could directly implicate Baruso (the link to Marcos) but was afraid to talk for fear of his family's "safety in the Philippines" - a strange witness for the defense emerged out of the blue. LeVane Forsythe came forward to contradict key prosecution witnesses on all counts, claiming he was at the scene of the crime and that he even had talked to the dying Domingo whom he recalled had a thick accent (Domingo, however, was born and raised in the United States and spoke only English.)

Forsythe's contrived testimony was discredited by the prosecuting attorney when it turned out that Forsythe had also previously testified on behalf of a man named Robert Maheu in the 1970 battle over the Howard Hughes estate. Maheu was the ex-CIA agent the Kennedy administration used in 1963 to approach Mafia figures about an attempt to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Key unknowns in the Committee for Justice's investigation are who brought Forsythe (called a "crackpot" by the prosecuting attorney and believed to be a "professional witness" by the Committee for Justice) to the attention of the defense lawyers, and who exactly put the brakes on the FBI probe of Baruso.

Those "higher" powers involved in this case might have begun to run out of shadows to hide in. On December 7, 1982, the Reagan administration responded to the Domingo-Viernes suit. On behalf of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos,

On December 7, 1982, the Reagan administration responded to the Domingo-Viernes suit. On behalf of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos, the administration filed a motion for the suit's dismissal, citing diplomatic immunity and foreign policy considerations.

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the administration filed a motion for the suit's dismissal, citing diplomatic immunity and foreign policy considerations. Disconcerted though not surprised by the move, Committee for Justice spokesperson Elaine Ko commented: "It is

apparent that the U.S. government has, once again, colluded politically with and on behalf of what they perceive to be a 'friendly state' regardless [of] and overriding any concern for their responsibility in the murders of U.S. citizens."

Commenting on the new stage of the justice work which now focuses on the higher levels of this murder conspiracy - the U.S.-Marcos connection - Cindy Domingo of the Seattle CJDV and sister of Silme Domingo said: "It is important that we understand what we mean by getting justice. It is becoming clear that we must give justice a political meaning. We must avoid a narrow notion that sees justice as a scorecard of convictions in court. We must realize that we will not necessarily get Marcos behind bars over this case in the near future....Justice means publicly exposing and politically punishing all those responsible for the slayings."

As We Go to Press . . .

An anonymous caller informed a Seattle TV station on January 16, 1983, that the body of a Filipino man found shot execution-style in Seattle South is that of Teodoro Domingues, also known as Boy Pilay. Domingues was a member of the Tulisan gang. The Committee for Justice believes that he might have been part of the conspiracy to assassinate Domingo and Viernes. In addition, Domingues was a key witness in the Committee's civil suit. In private conversation; he had fingered Tony Baruso as the man who had contracted for the murders.

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Eddie Carthan: Victim of Mississippi "Justice"

By Martha Wenger

A prosecutor for the Mississippi State Justice Department once told a defense lawyer that his client was one of three men in the state they were out to get. In 1982, the State District Attorney's office did its best to convict that client, former Tchula, Mississippi mayor Eddie Carthan, of hiring two killers to murder a political opponent.

Carthan was a threat to the Mississippi status quo for three reasons. First, he was a Black mayor—Tchula's first in a hundred years—whose efforts to improve the lives of the poor Black majority that elected him in 1977 had brought him into head-on conflict with a well-entrenched White power structure. Second, during his term in office, Carthan had been gathering evidence of the decades-long corruption that riddled the local and state governments, judicial system and police departments. Finally, Carthan's administration might have interfered with a high-stakes cocaine smuggling operation in which local Tchula officials were deeply implicated.

The District Attorney's office produced a well-concocted case against Carthan. It made a generous deal with Vincent Bolden, the man who had already confessed to the murder, in exchange for his testimony in the case (or as the DA's letter put it, for his testimony "against" Carthan). But the contradictory testimony of Bolden and other government witnesses was too transparent. On November 4, 1982, the all-Black jury required less than an hour to agree that Eddie Carthan was innocent of capital murder. The verdict is only a partial victory for Eddie Carthan: he is serving out a three-year sentence for conviction in a previous case trumped up by his political opponents to force him out of office.

Tchula is a backwater town in Holmes county, one of the ten poorest in the country. Blacks outnumber Whites by more than four to one. A railway track through town serves as a color and class line as well: on one side lie the pleasant homes of the White farmers and businessmen, on the other, the dilapidated houses of the Black workers, the majority of them without sewage facilities. Two-thirds of the citizens scratch by on welfare payments; 30 percent—officially—are unemployed. Blacks may have numerical strength but political and economic power are tightly held by Whites.

Mayor Eddie Carthan tried to change that. He went after and got $3 million in federal and private aid for his town for projects like housing rehabilitation and a childcare center. He had to fight all the way. "If you walk into the [Mississippi] State office," he told CounterSpy's Arjun Makhijani in a 1981 interview, "it is White and you can feel in the air the resentment and hostility." When he went there to apply for daycare funds for Tchula, he said, "they treated me as if I was there [applying] for food stamps." "The whole top bureaucracy is White." Carthan learned to send his proposals directly to Washington, D.C. or to Atlanta, Georgia.

Harassment came from all levels. A man who claimed to represent the "four most powerful men in the state—more powerful even than the governor" repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, tried to buy Carthan off with a $10,000 bribe. An FBI agent turned up regularly once a week during Carthan's entire four years in office. John Edgar Hays, the lone White alderman in Tchula, greeted Carthan's election with these words to his Black colleagues: "My father built this town and I'm not about to let a Black man run it." Whenever Carthan managed to interest a company in locating a plant near Tchula to provide badly-needed jobs, Hays called the company officials and scared them off with threats.

Still, Carthan was making headway until a Black alderman (who was employed by a White Holmes County supervisor) was "persuaded" to resign. He was replaced by Jason Gibson, a Black who readily allied himself against Carthan with Hays and Roosevelt Granderson, the Black man Carthan was later accused of having murdered.

This new anti-Carthan majority quickly took control. In 1979 they tried everything from stopping payment on city checks, refusing to pay

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Martha Wenger is a member of CounterSpy's advisory board and assistant to the editor of MERIP Reports magazine.

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the mayor's travel expenses, and cutting his salary from $600 to $60 a month to locking the city hall for eight weeks, with the police chief, who had been ordered to "shoot anyone who tries to enter," guarding the front door.

The final showdown came in April 1980 when the anti-Carthan trio walked out of a meeting in which Carthan planned to appoint a Black policeman to replace the newly-resigned police chief. They illegally "appointed" a White friend to the post, and installed him in the police station. Carthan, with five Black policemen and one loyal Black alderman, went to the station to oust the illegal chief. When the scuffle was over, both sides filed court charges. Carthan's complaint was never heard, but he soon found himself and his six colleagues (the "Tchula Seven") accused of assaulting a police officer—a felony. Black police officer Jimmy Harris apparently had been bribed into fabricating testimony against them. As soon as the Tchula Seven were convicted, Harris was hired to work in a store owned by the illegally-appointed police chief.

Carthan's administration might have interfered with a high-stakes cocaine smuggling operation in which local Tchula officials were deeply implicated.

In Carthan's view, the conviction had served the purposes of the local powers:

> The few areas where [Blacks] do have the power to elect our own, we are met with intimidation and political harassment. When they can't get you at the polls, they find some other way of getting you out of office, especially in the South....If they can do this to a mayor, what about the rest of the people?

Carthan was out of office and the reins of power were back in the hands of those who had always run things in Tchula. But the harassment did not end there. When Roosevelt Granderson, the Black alderman who had worked against Carthan, was shot and killed in a grocery store hold-up, Carthan was implicated even though another man, Vincent Earl Bolden, had already confessed to the killing. The District Attorney's office offered to reduce the death penalty Bolden faced to life in prison and dropped two other aggravated assault and three armed robbery charges. Bolden quickly changed statements he had previously made to the police and now claimed that Eddie Carthan had hired him and his cousin, David Hester, to kill Granderson.

Bolden's testimony during the trial was full of contradictions and slip-ups. For instance, although Hester had testified in a pre-trial hearing that Bolden said he didn't know Carthan, Bolden now testified that Carthan had driven up behind Bolden and Hester two days before the murder in a brown pick-up truck. The prosecuting attorney quickly asked Bolden, "What shade of brown was the truck?" The judge, over defense objections, allowed Bolden to correct his description to "light brown or beige." (Carthan owns a cream-colored pickup.)

Contradictions multiplied when the judge, in a highly unusual action, stopped the trial to allow the prosecution to produce a new witness, David Hester. Hester, a self-styled "Reverend," with a long history of criminal activity, agreed to testify when the state dropped all murder and robbery charges against him. As the Jackson Advocate reports, "Hester contradicted Bolden more than Bolden contradicted himself." At one point Hester was even allowed to look at notes in his briefcase to "refresh" his memory.

Bolden had said Carthan would pay $10,000 to kill Granderson and three others. Hester said he was hired to kill Granderson and five others, plus robbing the local bank. Hester also testified that Carthan was having financial problems and paid him only $500 two days before the murder. The defense attorney asked in mock incredulity, "Now Rev. Hester, are you trying to tell us that a man having financial problems was getting

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As Carthan put it: "The Whites talk about law. But it is their law — the sort of law which made it, not long ago, illegal for us to sit in the front of the bus. . . . there isn't anything close to justice for a Black in a Mississippi court."

ready to pay you $10,000 a piece to kill six people, and you killed the first one on credit?"

Hester completely undermined the prosecuting attorney's portrayal of the victim, Granderson, as a "pillar of the community" when he admitted under oath that in January 1981 he had sold Granderson $30,000 worth of pure cocaine (with a street value of $1 million). The cocaine connection brought an entirely new dimension into the case. Hester never managed to explain why he was willing to kill the very man who was his partner in a massive cocaine operation. At one point, Hester claimed that there was a million dollars in the bank he was supposed to rob: the money was to be used to "buy cocaine in South America." Again, Hester couldn't say why he hadn't just robbed the bank, rather than allegedly making a deal with Carthan to kill Granderson.

Carthan's acquittal remains a small step forward against the widespread corruption and racism that continue to fester. As Carthan put it, "The Whites talk about law. But it is their law—the sort of law which made it, not long ago, illegal for us to sit in the front of the bus....there isn't anything close to justice for a Black in a Mississippi court." So far, no official body has been willing to touch the cocaine-smuggling charges raised at the trial.

For more information contact: National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie James Carthan and to Preserve Black Political Rights, PO Box 29, Tchula, MS 39169. (601) 235-5209.

Sources: Arjun Makhijani, Interview with E. Carthan, Sept. 5, 1981; Jackson Advocate, Nov. 4, 1982; Sheila D. Collins, "Revenge of the Good Ole Boys," ITT, Jan. 20-26, 1982; Guardian (NY) November 10, 1982; Materials provided by the Christic Institute, Washington, DC.

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Rank and File Challenges AFL-CIO Hierarchy on Foreign Policy

By Richard Hobbs

It was an unprecedented display of statewide labor unity. Not a single participant at the December 2, 1982 California Labor Federations International Affairs Committee meeting in San Francisco voiced support for the AFL-CIO's position on Third World countries.

Secretary-Treasurer of the Alameda County Central Labor Council Dick Groux presented his Council's call for a reversal of "the Reagan foreign policy of furnishing aid to El Salvador, Philippines and other union-destroying regimes." Black trade unionists from SEIU 250 (Service Employees International Union) in San Francisco were outraged that "AFL-CIO officials met with government leaders" in South Africa, and that these leaders support a $1.07 billion International Monetary Fund loan to that apartheid regime.

Members of the Labor Committee on El Salvador of Sacramento, Santa Clara County, Los Angeles and San Francisco defended a joint resolution on El Salvador, urging "the AFL-CIO to oppose [human rights] certification [for that country's regime] by the Reagan administration. A majority of the delegates present signed on. Dozens of unionists and union leaders questioned the line presented by the AFL-CIO's top international experts flown in from Washington, New York and El Salvador, including Irving Brown, director of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department and Bill Doherty, head of the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

Europeans Want "Nuclear Umbrella"?

Brown stressed "the Red threat" and gave clear support to Reagan's nuclear arms buildup. He urged conference participants to aid "our friends in Europe, who want the nuclear umbrealla of the U.S. to protect them" from the "Soviet menace." In Third World countries, he said, the cornerstone of AFL-CIO policy is support for those "who have rejected terrorism." By "terrorists," participants might at first have thought the AFL-CIO spokespersons meant "Communists." By the end of the conference, however, it had become clear that a "terrorist" is anyone who fights militantly against large corporations or calls for their nationalization.

Although Irving Brown also called for "free trade unions" everywhere, his own past practices haven't done much to achieve that goal. Since the 1940s, when he was appointed to head the Free Trade Union Committee in Europe, Brown has consistently fought to establish passive, pro-

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corporate unions in every country of the world. Unions that militantly oppose corporate interests, such as the CGT in France after World War II, are defined as not "free." (Tom Braden, past head of the CIA's International Organization Division, revealed in 1967 that Brown received CIA money to create an alternative to the CGT at the time.)

They're all "Terrorists"

Bill Doherty, head of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, was the main afternoon speaker. Since 1962, AIFLD has trained those unionists from Latin America who agree with Brown's perspective that multinational corporations aid the people of the "Free World".

Richard Hobbs is a delegate to the Central Labor Council of Santa Clara County from the San Jose Federation of Teachers. He is also a member of the Labor Committee on El Salvador of Santa Clara County.

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Doherty claimed that in El Salvador, opposition to the regime has come solely from "six to seven thousand Communist terrorists." Many delegates, aware of the more than 30,000 civilians killed by government and government-condoned death squads in the last three years (according to the Catholic Church and Amnesty International) found it incredible that Doherty would attempt to sell such a bill of goods. The delegates also were aware that every opposition trade union in El Salvador has had its offices blown up and its leadership and hundreds or thousands of members assassinated, not because they were "terrorists," but because they opposed a ruthless junta.

Denying that the united opposition front in El Salvador, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), was formed by peasant and worker organizations, Doherty claimed that not a single union in El Salvador was affiliated with the FDR. Even after he was referred to Amnesty International "Urgent Action" bulletins, which stated that FDR-affiliated union members had been detained in August and October 1982 without the right to a civil trial, Doherty stuck to his story. He refused to join the vast majority of conference participants in signing a petition circulated by the San Jose Federation of Teachers which calls for the right of these unionists to a civil trial.

Doherty called the October 15, 1979 officers coup in El Salvador a "revolution." Yet he admitted that Roberto D'Abuisson, President of the Constituent Assembly, is "Hitler-like" and that "there is no justice system in El Salvador."

Not a single participant at the . . . California Labor Federation International Affairs Committee meeting in San Francisco voiced support for the AFL-CIO's position on Third World countries.

Even Tonia Papke, flown in as an AIFLD agrarian specialist from El Salvador said that she doubted that the number of peasants who had returned to their lands was as high as the number of peasants thrown off since D'Abuisson named a new Minister of Agriculture.

Winds of Change

The outcome of this conference was a widely-held conviction by participants that new winds must alter the course of the AFL-CIO's international perspective to protect workers both abroad and at home. Within the confines of the cold war ideology that straightjackets the AFL-CIO at present, social analysis cannot go beyond the worn-out rhetoric of Ronald Reagan.

The need for trade unionists and central labor bodies to take a stand was expressed by Dick Groux. When Doherty made fun of unions and central bodies which pass resolutions on international affairs, Groux challenged him. We all have the right and the duty to learn to express ourselves and to take action, he said. Doherty backed down.

Continued from page 9

kept meticulous records and copies of secret documents of his activities as an intelligence officer. Some of these documents were obtained and published by the monthly konkret.)

Langemann's files do not confirm that the plan to "liquidate" the leaders of targeted groups was actually realized. They do indicate, though, that considerable deliberation and work went into starting up a terrorist group. Along with Langemann, the chief strategist for the operation was Hans Kollmar, former director of the Bundeskriminalamt (West Germany's FBI) and then head of a private security agency. Langemann's documents show that at least one "potential terrorist" was contacted for possible recruitment to Langemann's and Kollmar's terror group. Konkret also raises the possibility that this government-sponsored terror group might indeed have carried out several bombings for which "no known terrorist group" took responsibility and which were never solved by West German police.

After a West German TV documentary publicized these intelligence efforts to establish a "terrorist organization," the Department of Justice stepped in: it filed suit not against Kollmar and Langemann, but against the persons who had provided the Langemann files to the TV program.

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IMF Moves to Roll Back Socialism in Vietnam

by Walden Bello

In mid-1982, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) informed Vietnamese authorities that it was turning down their request for another balance-of-payments loan to supplement a $31 million credit it had granted earlier in January 1981.[1] There was nothing routine about this action. The Fund's refusal was one more calculated move in the U.S. strategy of "bleeding Vietnam white" to secure its withdrawal from Kampuchea. More important, it represented a carefully planned effort by one of the leading guardians of the international capitalist order to derail the Vietnamese government from its avowed goal of accomplishing the transition to socialism.

In September 1976, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam assumed the IMF membership formerly held by the defunct Republic of South Vietnam, and joined the Fund's sister agency, the World Bank. The gesture was part of the newly liberated country's apertura (opening) to the West in 1976, when it sought to diversify its sources of foreign aid. Vietnam was able to obtain one $90 million credit for small-scale irrigation from the World Bank, before President Robert McNamara caved in to a U.S.-orchestrated drive to deny the country both bilateral and multilateral aid in 1980.

The Fund, however, maintained an open channel to Vietnam. The $31 million loan granted by the Fund in January 1981 came on top of three earlier credits totalling $69 million.[2] Close observers of the Fund predicted, though, that it would not be long before the agency, virtually straightjacketed by the 21 percent voting power wielded by the U.S., would line up behind U.S. policy.

The First Loan: Conditions and Performance

An examination of Vietnam's performance under the January 1981 loan, and a comparison of its record with that of two other countries which received IMF loans at the same time that the Vietnamese were refused, reveals that political motivations were, in fact, key to the Fund's decision. Continued credits to a member country are nominally contingent on its adherence to a specific "stabilization" program setting out performance criteria and other terms. To receive the 1981 IMF loan, Vietnam had agreed to:

[The IMF] hit Vietnam for its "ambiguous attitudes toward the private sector." The key economic bottleneck, it said, was the socialist system's adherence to "the rigid criteria of the Plan."

- raise the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by three percent in 1981;
- adopt more "flexible" policies in setting domestic prices and foreign exchange rates;
- promote export industries; and
- limit the expansion of domestic credit and reduce the budget deficit.[3]

In line with their commitment to initiate a more flexible pricing policy, the Vietnamese government raised prices paid to agricultural cooperatives in the north by 400 to 600 percent on about 40 agricultural commodities, including rice. Coupled with the institutionalization of the

Walden Bello is the author of Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines (co-authored with David Kinley, Elaine Elinson, Robin Broad, David O'Connor and Vincent Bielski). The book has just been released by the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

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"contract system," whereby peasant cooperatives and the state negotiate grain procurement prices, this measure triggered a 3.2 percent rise in agricultural production. "Foodgrain production reached the record level of 15 million tons," confirms a confidential Fund staff report, "and there were important gains in output of a number of cash crops."[4] Record agricultural output and industrial recovery combined to enable Vietnam to attain a three percent rise in GDP — the principal goal of the IMF program.

The Fund, however, chose to ignore these developments in assessing Vietnam's eligibility for another credit. Instead, it preferred to emphasize the decline in exports. This was not due to Vietnam's lack of trying. Vietnam had carried out a drastic 70 percent devaluation of its currency, the Dong, in order to make Vietnamese exports "cheaper" and thus more competitive on the world market. Other measures included payment of bonuses to enterprises that exceeded their export production targets, permission for selected exporters to use part of their export proceeds to buy imported inputs in the international market, and granting greater autonomy to certain trading firms in Ho-Chi-Minh City.[5]

The IMF also stressed another "failure": the inability of the government to reduce its budget deficit.[6] But this "failure" stemmed from policy initiatives which the government felt to be imperative: a doubling of the salaries of state enterprise employees to match the price increases decreed for agricultural products, and the maintenance of price subsidies on commodities purchased by state sector employees. Of all social groups, government workers and civil servants have probably suffered the most from the steady release of market forces over the last three years due to their low fixed incomes. The price of one chicken, for instance, now comes to two-thirds of the monthly pay of a government employee. It was to contain this sharp erosion of buying power - and the inevitable morale problems it creates in the context of increasing prosperity for traders and many peasants - that the government made the moves frowned upon by the Fund.

Other factors cited for the IMF's refusal were Vietnam's $38 million unpaid and overdue debts to external creditors and its practice of rescheduling payments to other Fund member countries bilaterally (that is, government-to-government, rather than on a multilateral basis, i.e. under Fund direction).

Double Standards

1981 was not a rosy year for the Vietnamese, but neither was it grim. In fact, by a number of economic measures, 1981 was the best year since 1976 - a year of turnaround after two years of negative growth. That program performance was not the decisive criterion behind the Fund's decision becomes even clearer when one compares Vietnam's performance with that of two successful loan applicants, El Salvador and Haiti.

On July 16, 1982, the IMF granted El Salvador an $83 million credit in spite of its acknowledgement in internal IMF documents that El Salvador was in a state of economic chaos. The economy had contracted by an astonishing 10 percent in 1981 relative to 1980. The government was virtually bankrupt, with its readily available cash down to $2.5 million. Arrears in payments to international creditors rose from $41 million in 1980 to $65.5 million in 1981 - almost 80 percent more than Vietnam's total. Massive capital flight had virtually wrecked the private sector, with net capital outflow amounting to more than $800 million between 1979 and 1982.[7]

The Fund did more than ignore performance standards. Contrary to its image as the stern advocate of financial orthodoxy, it recommended the establishment of a multiple or "tiered" exchange rate system. Under this system, "nonessential imports" would be paid for at devalued rates while "essential imports" - that is, those necessary to oil the Salvadoran military machine - would continue to be purchased more cheaply, under the overvalued official rate. In contrast, the IMF took Vietnam to task for the relatively innocuous practice of offering Vietnamese citizens and tourists who possess hard

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currencies better-than-official rates of exchange as a way of acquiring scarce dollars.[8]

The $38 million IMF standby credit recently granted to Haiti provides an even more striking example of the Fund's selective disregard for performance standards. The government of strongman "Baby Doc" Duvalier failed to meet all the conditions attached to a previous three-year IMF loan which began in 1978. Not only was GDP growth negative in 1981, but foreign

The Fund staff report . . . lays out a number of recommendations which, if followed, would involve a strategic shift in Vietnam's socialist reconstruction plans.

exchange reserves were virtually non-existent and arrears on payments to external creditors had climbed to $20 million.[9] Even more disconcerting, from the Fund's point of view, was the disappearance of $20 million out of a $22 million IMF credit a few weeks after it was granted in December 1980 - and its reappearance, according to reliable sources, in Baby Doc's private account. Equally alarming to the Fund management was Duvalier's defiant dismissal of the reform-minded finance minister who had negotiated the new loan with the Fund and had been expected to supervise its implementation. Nevertheless, the Fund granted Haiti additional credit in August 1982.

In the cases of El Salvador and Haiti, orthodox evaluation standards took a backseat to political considerations. Despite Haiti's economic fiasco and the looting of aid funds, the U.S. government considers Duvalier a strategic ally in its crusade to isolate Cuba in the Caribbean. In El Salvador, the IMF does not hesitate to describe its mission in political terms: maintaining a "holding pattern" which would be "instrumental in restoring and retaining an economic setting conducive to the renewal of growth and investment - once noneconomic factors permit it,"[10] (i.e. once the country is pacified politically).

The political rationale, similarly, was central to the Fund's decision on Vietnam. This shows through even in the IMF staff report. While the Fund took a sympathetic view toward the Salvadoran regime's preoccupation with "noneconomic factors," it criticized the Vietnamese harshly for "continued diversion of scarce resources toward military purposes."[11] The IMF evaluation is, in fact, an almost word-for-word parroting of the State Department's standard line in its campaign to persuade other countries to deny aid to Vietnam unless it withdraws troops from Kampuchea: "The continued diversion of resources toward non-economic purposes... [has] contributed to a decline in total investments....Military manpower requirements also continue to absorb a disproportionate share of technical and managerial skills that are in short supply."[12]

The IMF and the Socialist Construction Debate

Pressuring Vietnam on its Kampuchea policy, however, was not the only motive for the Fund's denial of credits to Vietnam. According to Hanoi-based foreign diplomats, the Vietnamese government had refused to agree to IMF terms "which would involve a major restructuring of the economy."[13] The Fund staff report, indeed, lays out a number of strong recommendations which, if followed, would involve a strategic shift in Vietnam's socialist reconstruction plans. They play upon sentiments of certain Vietnamese leaders that "liberalization" of the economy is necessary.

After four years of poor economic performance, precipitated in part by annual agricultural disasters, voices emerged in Vietnam calling for a moderation of the socialist eocnomy. In July 1979, selected free market incentives were introduced. These measures contributed to the recovery of the economy in 1981. But their anomalous status in a socialist framework triggered a bitter controversy in party ranks between a "left faction," reportedly headed by State Council Chairman Truong Chinh, which sought to contain the concessions granted to private production and trade, and a "right faction" advocating even greater concessions. The latter group was said to be greatly influenced by the ideas of non-Marxist economists like Nguyen Xuan Oanh, whom a Christian Science Monitor correspondent describes as "a Harvard-educated former official of the International Monetary Fund and deputy prime minister of the old South Vietnam Government in the 1960s."[14] The bulk of the party leadership, led by Secretary General Le Duan, appeared to be steering a cautious middle

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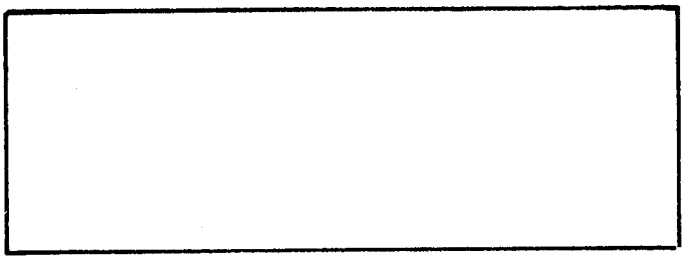
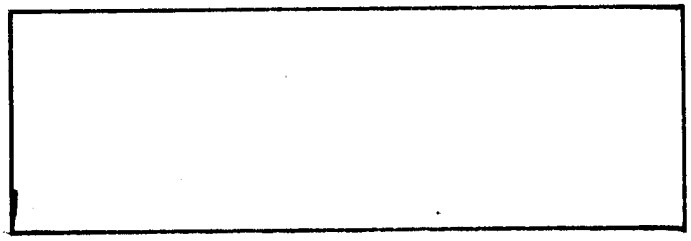


Record agricultural output and industrial recovery combined to enable Vietnam to attain a three percent rise in GDP — the principal goal of the IMF program. The Fund, however, chose to ignore these developments in assessing Vietnam's eligibility for another credit.



course, though veering slightly to the right.

In the midst of this debate, the IMF's package of strategic recommendations amounted to nothing less than a proposal to radically roll back socialist construction. The IMF's objective in laying out its conditions for further loans was to strengthen the hand of the right faction.

The Fund proposed, first, a dismantling of central planning and complete "liberation" of market forces. It hit Vietnam for its "ambiguous attitudes toward the private sector." The key economic bottleneck, it said, was the socialist system's adherence to "the rigid criteria of the Plan."[15] While the Fund noted with approval the recent introduction of market mechanisms in the economy, it regarded these as insufficient and called for "an acceleration in the adoption of market-oriented criteria of economic management, and, in particular, the introduction of negotiated [i.e. free market] prices throughout the economy."[16]

A second strategic suggestion was that Vietnam refocus industrial production away from the domestic market and largely toward export markets, particularly in the non-socialist world. "It is important," asserted the staff report, "that investment be directed toward quick-yielding [export-oriented] projects that will directly benefit the balance of payments."[17]

What the Fund did not tell the Vietnamese is that the export-oriented strategy is one of the key factors behind the balance of payments crises in those Third World countries which have adopted IMF-World Bank prescriptions, such as the Philippines, South Korea, and Singapore. These neighbors of Vietnam have seen demand for their primary product exports and "labor-intensive manufactured goods" decline with the contraction and growing protectionism of the advanced capitalist markets during the current international recession.

The export sector, in the IMF's view, must be the leading sector, and production for the domestic market must take a backseat to export production. Thus it cautioned against competition from domestic demand: "The higher purchasing power of both farmers and state employees that has resulted from the price and salary measures in 1981 will increase the domestic demand of consumer goods, thereby jeopardizing the achievement of the 1982 export targets that have been set for these goods."[18]

The export-oriented industrialization strategy, however, was promoted not only for its allegedly beneficial short-term effects on the balance of payments. From the Fund's strategic perspective, it would create a sector integrated into the world capitalist economy which could serve as a beachhead from which to gradually reorient the rest of the domestic economy along market lines. The IMF was, indeed, candid about this aim: "Broader exposure to world market conditions would...be conducive to maintaining competitive standards in the Vietnam economy with regard to both price and quality."[19]

A third strategic proposal advanced by the Fund was that Vietnam show "greater willingness to accept private foreign investment and the attendant transfers of capital, and technical, managerial and marketing skills."[20] It explains that, "so far, only a few foreign investors (in pharmaceuticals and textiles) have availed themselves of the foreign investment law."[21] In other words, Vietnam's Foreign Investment Law must be made more attractive, despite the fact that it already allows foreign investors 100 percent equity ownership in export enterprises. The Fund's model of adequate investment incentives is, of course, to be found in places like the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan where, in addition to full equity ownership, foreign investors are granted guarantees of cheap, repressed labor and a variety of tax exemptions and subsidized costs.

While international capital, represented by the IMF, has articulated a policy with a clear-cut objective - "rolling back socialism" - the

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Vietnamese Communist Party has yet to present a coherent strategic response. However, some official accounts of trends at the Fifth Congress of the Party, held in late March 1982, reveal the emerging contours of a future strategy. These would probably not displease the Fund, since they appear to be cautious and moderate versions of its own far-reaching recommendations.

The Fifth Congress affirmed the goal of building socialism, but at the same time it emphasized that "the building of socialist infrastructure is conditioned by the development of agriculture, of consumer goods products for export, the key factors for the future development of heavy industry."[22] The current reforms are described as "a new emancipation, and the main task after the Congress will be to abolish a whole range of outdated regulations, and to institute a new system of prices, wages, norms, management mechanisms, while developing novel economic structures."

A third strategic proposal advanced by the Fund was that Vietnam show "greater willingness to accept private foreign investment. . . ."

The message from the IMF to socialist countries is clear, and represents a more sophisticated response than a decade ago. When the socialist Allende government was voted into power in Chile in 1970, the IMF and World Bank willingly participated in a Henry Kissinger-orchestrated campaign to make the economy "scream." Small amounts of IMF funds did flow to Chile under Allende, but overall the agencies pursued the U.S.-led policy of economic strangulation.[23]

While these institutions' aversion to socialism has not diminished, it has become more subtle. By playing on segments of the Vietnamese government less hostile to IMF-type conditions, the IMF is attempting to steer the economy onto an export-oriented track which Vietnam could only redirect with great difficulty. As in Haiti and El Salvador, the policies of these "apolitical" institutions could not be more explicit.

Footnotes:

1) Asia Record, September 1972, p. 15.
2) International Monetary Fund, "Socialist Republic of Vietnam - Staff Reprot for the 1982 Article IV Consultation," April 30, 1982, p. 16.
3) Ibid., p. 5.
4) Ibid., p. 11.
5) Ibid., p. 9.
6) Ibid., pp. 5, 11.
7) International Monetary Fund, "El Salvador - Staff Report for the 1981 Article IV Consultation, April 8, 1982; see CounterSpy, vol. 7, no. 1.
8) Ibid.
9) International Monetary Fund, "Haiti - Standby Agreement," August 11, 1982. See CounterSpy, vol. 7, no. 2.
10) International Monetary Fund, "El Salvador - Staff Report for the 1981 Article IV Consultation," April 8, 1982.
11) Cf. supra, #2, p. 1.
12) Ibid., p. 6.
13) Cf. supra, #1.
14) Paul Quinn-Judge, "Vietnam Hopes Less Dogmatism, Will Mean More Grain," Christian Science Monitor, 8/12/82, p. 3.
15) Cf. supra, #2, pp. 1, 5.
16) Ibid., p. 9.
17) Ibid., p. 11.
18) Ibid., p. 7.
19) Ibid., p. 10.
20) Ibid., p. 9.
21) Ibid., p. 34.
22) Nguyen Khac Vien, "The Economic Options of the 5th Congress," Vietnam Courier, No. 6, 1982, p. 16.
23) Cheryl Payer, The Debt Trap, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1974, p. 194.

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The Yamal Natural Gas Pipeline:

Soviet "Slave Labor" Charges Examined

By Konrad Ege

Now that President Reagan's effort to stop the Soviet-European natural gas pipeline deal by imposing trade sanctions has collapsed, he and his ideological friends are left to rely on another tactic: condemning the pipeline project as "immoral" because of the alleged use of forced labor. The CIA will publish a second study on the issue in early 1983, and conservative politicians and journalists in the U.S. and Western Europe have kept repeating charges that the Soviet government is using tens of thousands of Soviet and Vietnamese "slave laborers" on the pipeline. Columnist William Safire, for instance, shrilled that "nobody can deny that this pipeline is the biggest slave labor project since the Pyramids."

An examination of these charges shows that the "evidence" is flimsy at best - some of it is fabricated. Furthermore, the originators of the slave labor stories have ties to the CIA and/or are persons whose anti-Soviet activities go back as far as their participation in the Nazis' anti-Soviet campaign in the 1940s.

The originators of the slave labor stories have ties to the CIA and/or are persons whose anti-Soviet activities go back as far as their participation in the Nazis' anti-Soviet campaign in the 1940s.

Reagan's Pipeline Crusade

For President Reagan, the attempt to prevent the construction of the Yamal natural gas pipeline is part of an economic war against the Soviet Union. The 3600-mile pipeline — the longest in the world — will carry four billion cubic feet of natural gas per day to Western Europe. From a commercial standpoint, the pipeline is a good deal - for West European corporations involved in its construction; for consumers in Europe, whose utility payments may rise more slowly; and for the Soviet government which is eager to find a market for its natural gas. In addition, many Europeans in the East and in the West hope that such a commercial enterprise will serve to ease the political and military tensions in Europe.

Soon after taking office, Reagan began saying that the Yamal pipeline would make Western Europe dependent on the Soviet Union and might be used to coerce the European NATO governments. (The gas from the Soviet Union will fulfill only some four percent of Western Europe's energy needs.) When Reagan realized that his approach of "dissuading" the governments of Europe was not working, he advocated "punishing" the Soviet Union for the institution of martial law by the Polish government and, in late December 1981, banned the sale to the Soviet Union of equipment used for refining oil and natural gas. The West European governments refused to honor these sanctions, and Reagan shifted again. He now claimed that the natural gas revenues obtained by the Soviet Union would be used for military purposes. Thus, by buying Soviet gas the West would help shore up the Soviet economy which Reagan believes is close to a collapse that will ultimately leave "Marxism-

Konrad Ege is co-editor of CounterSpy and a freelance journalist.

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Leninism on the ashheap of history."

In June 1982, Reagan tried to turn the screw further: He extended the trade embargo to overseas subsidiaries of U.S. firms producing gas equipment under U.S. licenses, thereby risking a business loss of over $2 billion for U.S. companies. West European governments wasted little time. They denounced Reagan's unilateral action as illegal and forged ahead with shipments of machinery for the pipeline to the Soviet Union. In November 1982, Reagan finally realized that his effort was not going to prevent the on-time construction of the pipeline, and lifted his sanctions.

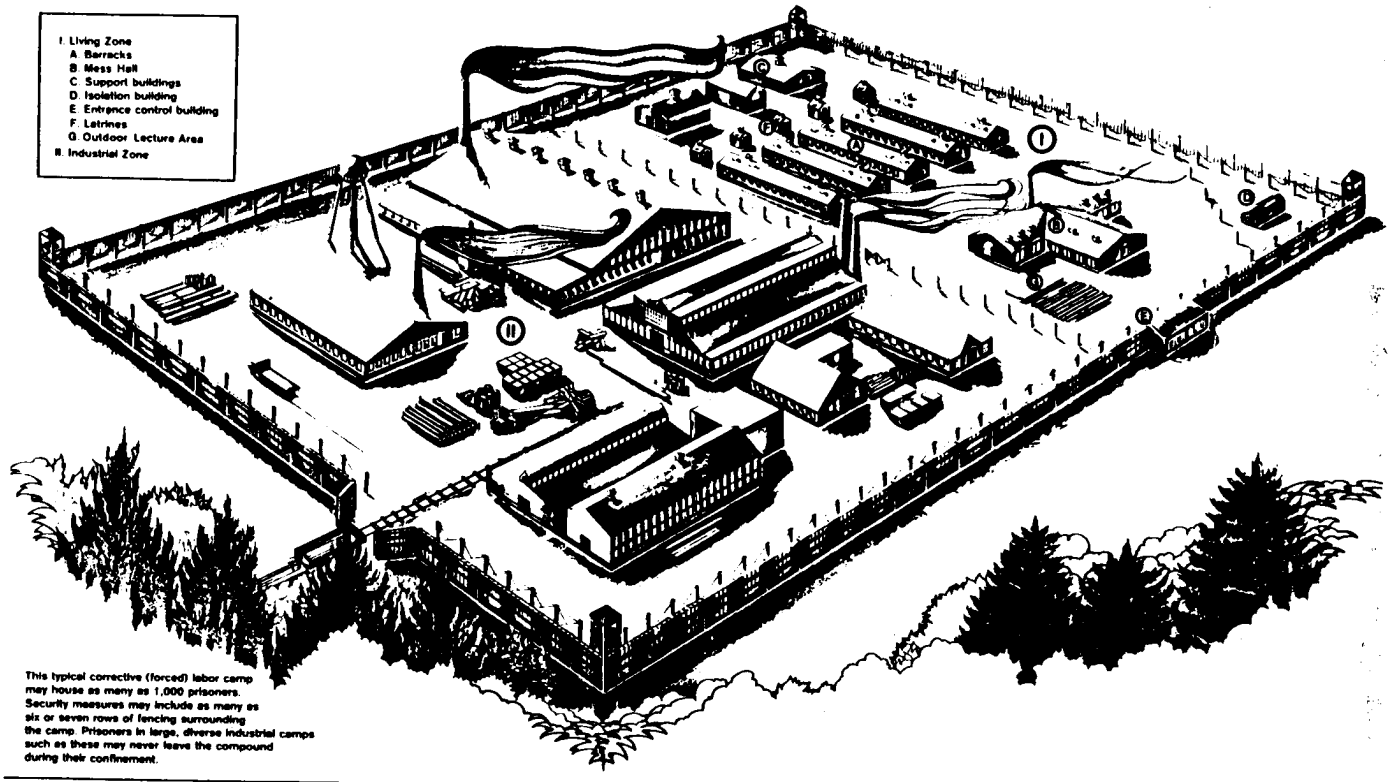
The Rumor Mill Starts Grinding

The campaign charging the use of "slave labor" was kicked off in earnest on June 23, 1982, only days after Reagan imposed trade sanctions. Most of the charges originated with a fairly obscure West German "human rights" group, the Internationale Gesellschaft fuer Menschenrechte (International Society for Human Rights) based in Frankfurt. The society charged in a lengthy "documentation" entitled The Use of Forced Labor on the Siberian Gas Pipeline that 100,000 forced laborers - 10,000 of them political prisoners - are being used to build the Yamal pipeline.

To this day, this "documentation" remains the cornerstone of the "slave labor" charges. It is supplemented only by statements of the Copenhagen-based International Sakharov Committee whose members include Edward Teller, the inventor of the hydrogen bomb, rightwing British publicist Geoffrey Stewart-Smith and Albert Shanker, the head of the American Federation of Teachers.

The Society's "documentation" has been widely quoted in the international media, from the Washington Post to the London Sunday Times and France Soir in Paris, and has been fully reprinted in a State Department/CIA report to Congress on forced labor, even though the CIA admits it cannot verify the claims the West German report makes. Indeed, the charges of the International Society for Human Rights do not hold up under close examination. The "documentation" contains statements by seven former Soviet prisoners now living in West Germany and Israel, most of whom left the Soviet Union before the pipeline construction began.

The Society and the Sakharov Committee name six alleged political prisoners who they say are working on the pipeline: Semjon Gluzman, Sinovij Krassivksi, Julius Sasnauskas, Jurij Grim, Vladimir Marmus and Alexander Ussatjut. Members of Amnesty International and other prisoner aid organizations, who have been



The CIA presents this drawing which it says depicts a "typical" labor camp as evidence in its report to Congress on "forced labor" in the Soviet Union.

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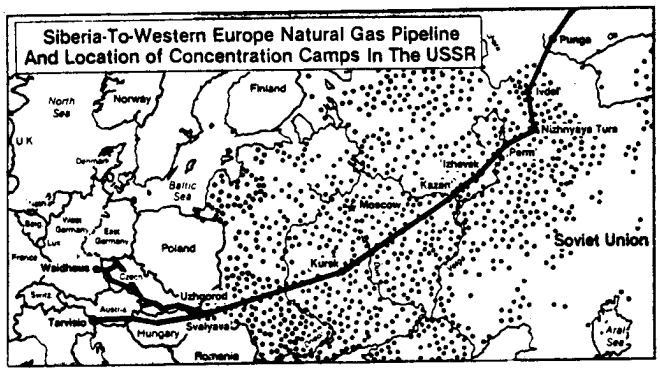
corresponding with these prisoners, testify that none of the six has ever worked on the pipeline. Instead:

- Semjon Gluzman was interned in Perm for seven years and now lives in Kiev;
- Sinovij Krassivksi lives in internal exile in Lugovoij where he runs a photo studio;
- Julius Sasnauskas is a stoker in Tomsk;
- Jurij Grim is working as a woodcutter near Tjumen;
- Vladimir Marmus is a farm laborer in Tjumen; and
- Alexander Ussatjut is a janitor in the village of Karasulskaja close to Tjumen.

A wide variety of organizations have chimed in on the slave labor allegations. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland issued a statement in November 1982 urging that the "flow of credit to the Soviet bloc" be halted because of the "barbaric practice" of using forced labor. (AFL-CIO spokesperson Murray Seeger stated that the labor union federation is opposed to forced labor "as a matter of principle." Seeger said, though, that the AFL-CIO does not consider prisoners in the United States - who are forced to work for "wages" of 5¢ to 75¢ an hour - forced laborers because "prisoners in the United States learn a trade.") Kirkland's French colleague Andre Bergeron, head of the rightwing union Force Ouvriere (created with CIA help after World War II to counter progressive unions) approached President Francois Mitterand urging him to take steps against the use of "slave labor" on the pipeline. The ultra-right Heritage Foundation issued a "Backgrounder" to do its bit in propagating the "slave labor" story. The report includes several misleading quotations.



Department of Commerce map

The CIA report entitled The Soviet Forced Labor System cannot boast of much better quality. It speculates that "because of the use of forced laborers in the past and because of current labor shortages in the U.S.S.R., it is likely that forced laborers will be used on almost any large construction project in the U.S.S.R., including pipelines such as the West-Siberia-to-Europe natural gas export line." Together with its report, the CIA presents a fictional drawing of a "typical" labor camp, and a map showing the locations of the 1100 alleged labor camps in the Soviet Union. The number of camps actually indicated, though, is less than 1000, and a CIA map and a Department of Commerce map issued regarding the same topic disagree on the number of "labor camps" and their locations.

The International Society for Human Rights

Journalists and government spokespersons repeating the Society's charges apparently did not bother to examine the nature of their source. Among the society's founders in 1972 were several members of the Narodno-Trudowoi-Sojus, an organization of Soviet exiles dedicated to waging armed struggle against the Soviety government. One of them, Iwan Agrusow (he is now executive president) was reportedly working for the Nazis during their invasion of the Soviet Union. At least three other members of the society's board of directors have had Nazi connections:

- Alfred Domes was director of the Germanistic Institute at the University of Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland) and a scientific advisor to the Nazi foreign ministry.
- Gotthold Rhode worked on the staff of the "Institute for Eastern European Affairs" under the Nazi government.
- Georgi Tregubow was sentenced to 25 years in prison in the Soviet Union in 1947 as a war criminal for aiding the Nazi government. He was released before he had served his full sentence and emigrated to West Germany.

Other striking facts have been uncovered regarding the Society for Human Rights. In 1976, and then again in 1982, the West German newspaper die tat published articles claiming that Agrusow, after leaving the Soviet Union following World War II, was trained by the CIA to carry out subversive operations against the Soviet Union. Agrusow has never publicly denied the die tat articles.

Funding is another murky area of the Society's operations. It maintains a large (approximately 9000 square feet) office in Frankfurt; its staff travels extensively; and it had enough money to open a second office in Madrid, Spain, during the meetings of the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe there. The society claims to have "a little less than 2,000 members" paying dues. Either these members are exceedingly wealthy, or there is some other source of funds for this large operation.

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Vietnamese Slave Labor?

The charge that 500,000 Vietnamese "slave laborers" are working on the construction of the Yamal pipeline is almost too ludicrous to warrant attention. Nevertheless, the Subcommittee on International Finance and Monetary Policy of the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs held a hearing on the matter in June 1982. The Committee heard from two witnesses, Doan Van Toai, author of The Vietnamese Gulag and Le Thi Anh of the "Vietnamese Information Bureau" in Cheverly, Maryland. Both claim that Vietnamese are forced to work on the Yamal pipeline. Neither has first-hand evidence, but Toai explained the basis for his charges: "The initial news of this deportation [of Vietnamese to work in the Soviet Union] was reported firsthand in the London Economist magazine on September 17 [1981]." The Economist, he said, was "talking about the Hanoi authorities having exported 500,000 (five hundred thousand) Vietnamese workers to the Soviet Union."

Toai's presentation contained one tiny but significant mistake: the article had not appeared in the Economist, but in the Economist's Foreign Report, a publication that has been edited for years by Robert Moss and Brian Crozier. Both Moss and Crozier have collaborated closely with the CIA in their writings. In addition, Toai's statements lack credibility because Toai, who describes himself as a disenchanted member of the National Liberation Front, worked as a covert "CIA agent" during the U.S. war in Vietnam. This is according to files maintained by the former South Vietnamese government and obtained by CounterSpy. (See "Resuming the Vietnam War," CounterSpy, vol. 6 no.3.)

The Real Foreign Workers

There are foreigners working on the Yamal pipeline - East Germans. The Soviet news agency TASS reported in November 1982 that 5,000 members of the Free German Youth Union had arrived in the Soviet Union. They were to lay some 540 kilometers of pipes, "build seven compressor stations, dwelling houses, kindergartens and many other structures." TASS said that the youths were carefully screened out of 17,000 applicants; only workers with construction experience were selected.

In the Soviet Union itself, jobs on the Yamal pipeline are much in demand. The pay is excellent, and the completion of the project has become a matter of national pride. Most of the work, though, is done by machines; some of them

The Use of Forced Labor on the Siberian Gas-Pipeline

ISHR
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
IGFM

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have been especially developed by Soviet engineers for the construction of pipelines, such as machines to weld the pipeline components together and machines to insulate the pipeline. Almost all of the pipeline will run underground, so dredging machines are digging the 3600-mile, two meter deep and almost two meter wide ditch for the pipeline.

In August 1982, when the slave labor stories in the Western media were running wild, only some 300 miles of the 3600 mile pipeline were finished; another 500 miles of pipe were welded, and some 200 miles of ditch was completed. Still, the pipeline will be finished late this year or early in 1984. This means that most of the longest pipeline ever built is being constructed in some 18 months. Obviously, this is possible only with the help of the most advanced machinery. The picture of forced laborers digging trenches and wrapping insulation around the 1.42 meter wide pipes that is being painted by some opponents of the pipeline deal does not fit with the reality of such a gigantic construction project.

Sources: Sabine Rosenbladt, "Die Luege mit der langen Leitung," konkret, Oct. 1982; Sen. Steve Symms, "Yamal Gasline: Pipedream or Nightmare," issue update, Senate Republican Conference, October 1982; B. Antonow, "Mit Faschisten fuer Menschenrechte?" die tat, 12/3/76; Georg Herde, "'Menschenrechtler' als Nothelfer Reagan's," die tat, 8/27/82. The Times (London), 8/19/82, p. 6; FBIS, Soviet Union, 11/17/82, p. CC2; Der Spiegel, 8/16/82; The Sunday Times (London), 11/28/82, p. 18; Juliana Geron Pilon, "Slave Labor and the Soviet Pipeline," Backgrounder, Heritage Foundation, 9/16/82; AFL-CIO News Release, 11/8/82; Human Rights Consequences of the Proposed Trans-Siberian Natural Gas Pipeline, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on International Finance and Monetary Policy of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate, 6/18/82; Proposed Trans-Siberian Natural Gas Pipeline, Hearing Before the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, U.S. Senate, 11/12/81; Department of State, Preliminary Report to the Congress on Forced Labor in the USSR, November 1982; International Society for Human Rights, The Use of Forced Labor on the Siberian Gas Pipeline, August 1982; CIA, Directorate of Intelligence, The Soviet Forced Labor System, November 1982; Daily Telegraph, London, 8/14/82; Time, 8/30/82; Die Welt, 8/9/82; New York Times, 8/26/82.

Intelligence Committee Hearings:

Soviet Active Measures

President Reagan is out to discredit the nuclear weapons freeze movement by claiming it is directed by Soviet intelligence agencies. Reagan's "documentation" for that charge is a Reader's Digest article which he says he "checked out."

The CIA and the FBI are also working to discredit the disarmament movement, as well as other political organizations and progressive journalists. As part of that campaign, the FBI and the CIA are seeking to undermine the validity of certain leaked U.S. government documents by portraying them as "KGB forgeries." CIA and FBI officials made these "KGB charges" at recent House Intelligence Committee hearings which were declassified and published in December 1982.

The Committee called the hearings to examine alleged Soviet manipulation of disarmament and solidarity organizations, KGB influence on the media, and a host of other KGB "active measures" allegedly used to promote Soviet policies. But the hearing left the Committee with empty hands: in spite of CIA and FBI mudslinging and countless insinuations, the intelligence officials were not able, in the assessment of Committee chairperson Edward Boland, to prove any KGB masterminding of the U.S. disarmament movement. Still, the accusations, which remain undocumented, were many: that the Soviet Union and its "front groups" "were behind" the worldwide demonstrations against U.S. intervention in El Salvador; that 131 peace groups worldwide "are believed" to get Soviet money (though the CIA had to admit that "the peace movement in Europe did have a very native and genuine spawning"); that the KGB forges secret U.S. documents; and

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that the KGB has a record of manipulating the Western media.

When it comes to actual documentation of these charges, CIA and FBI officials have little to offer. Their allegations range from "beliefs" to outright lies. For instance, John Stein, CIA Deputy Director for Operations (i.e.,the "dirty tricks" department) claimed that reports about a CIA effort to assassinate Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba in 1960 are "phoney" stories put out as part of the alleged KGB disinformation campaign. In reality, former CIA Deputy Director Richard Bissell admitted in a 1975 Senate hearing that the CIA had put a "top priority" on "getting rid" of Lumumba by "destroying him physically" or "incapacitating him," and that the CIA actually sent an agent to the Congo with the order and the equipment to poison Lumumba.

Some CIA and FBI claims — that the Soviets played a key role in setting up Central America solidarity groups in the U.S. and that the Soviets finance 131 peace groups worldwide, for example — are simply ludicrous, and the CIA and the FBI did not even attempt to provide any hard evidence for these allegations. The Soviet role in the anti-apartheid movement is "documented" by references to official Soviet policy denouncing the South African regime and to Daily World (newspaper of the Communist Party, U.S.A.) articles denouncing apartheid. On the issue of alleged KGB use of the Western media, the CIA does not provide the name of a single "KGB-controlled" U.S. journalist. Instead, it digs as far back as World War II, using the example of Richard Sorge who worked for Soviet intelligence in Japan during World War II under journalistic cover.

The issue of the alleged KGB forgeries of U.S. government documents is perhaps the most revealing segment of the hearing. Its transcript contains reprints of a number of alleged KGB forgeries. Some of these documents are obviously not genuine U.S. government papers, such as "mailgrams" about Sweden's alleged integration into NATO. These mailgrams, supposedly written by U.S. officials, contain several grammatical errors and even some Congresspersons had a hard time believing that the KGB would go to the trouble of producing documents that were patently bogus, especially given CIA claims that the KGB has practically unlimited resources for such operations.

Asked Representative Romano Mazzoli: "An analysis of the mailgrams revealed they were almost certainly drafted by non-native speaking persons since the language used several syntactical errors....I was just wondering how inexpert this was. They were sent to important officials who obviously would check out whether or not they were authentic....Does that suggest that these Soviet operations are not very effective?"

CIA Deputy Director John McMahon, a star witness at the hearings, was ready for the question. He blamed the mistakes on the fact "that Kim Philby, who was probably the head of [the KGB's] English department and grammar department, retired and they now have someone doing it who doesn't have the idiomatic flavor of good English language." (Philby is a British citizen who worked as a Soviet agent in the 1950s

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
PERMANENT
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
JULY 13, 14, 1982

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The CIA, the FBI and the President live in a world in which people are incapable of deciding independently that they oppose certain U.S. government policies. For the Reagan administration, such opposition is undoubtedly financed by Soviet agents.

and is now living in the Soviet Union.) McMahon would have the Representatives believe that the multi-billion KGB "subversive apparatus," as he had portrayed it, was unable to recruit a single person with good English skills. (CounterSpy is reprinting some of these documents and a discussion regarding their authenticity in our "Documents" section.)

The CIA and the FBI used the Intelligence Committee hearings for disinformation. They did not make the effort to present a coherent, documented case. The CIA, the FBI and the President live in a world in which people are incapable of deciding independently that they oppose certain U.S. government policies. For the Reagan administration, such opposition is undoubtedly financed by Soviet agents.

More disturbingly, the hearings are supposed to justify CIA and FBI spying on legitimate U.S. organizations. Edward O'Malley, the FBI's Assistant Director for Intelligence, even admitted in the hearing that the FBI spies on U.S. organizations that are suspected of being influenced by the Soviet Union. He said new Justice Department guidelines have made it easier for the FBI to collaborate with other intelligence agencies in "examining" the activities of such political groups.

It seems that history is repeating itself: the CIA began its largest known illegal domestic program of disruption and spying, Operation CHAOS, on the "suspicion" that there was foreign influence on progressive U.S. organizations. CHAOS was expanded despite the CIA's failure to ever document this foreign influence.

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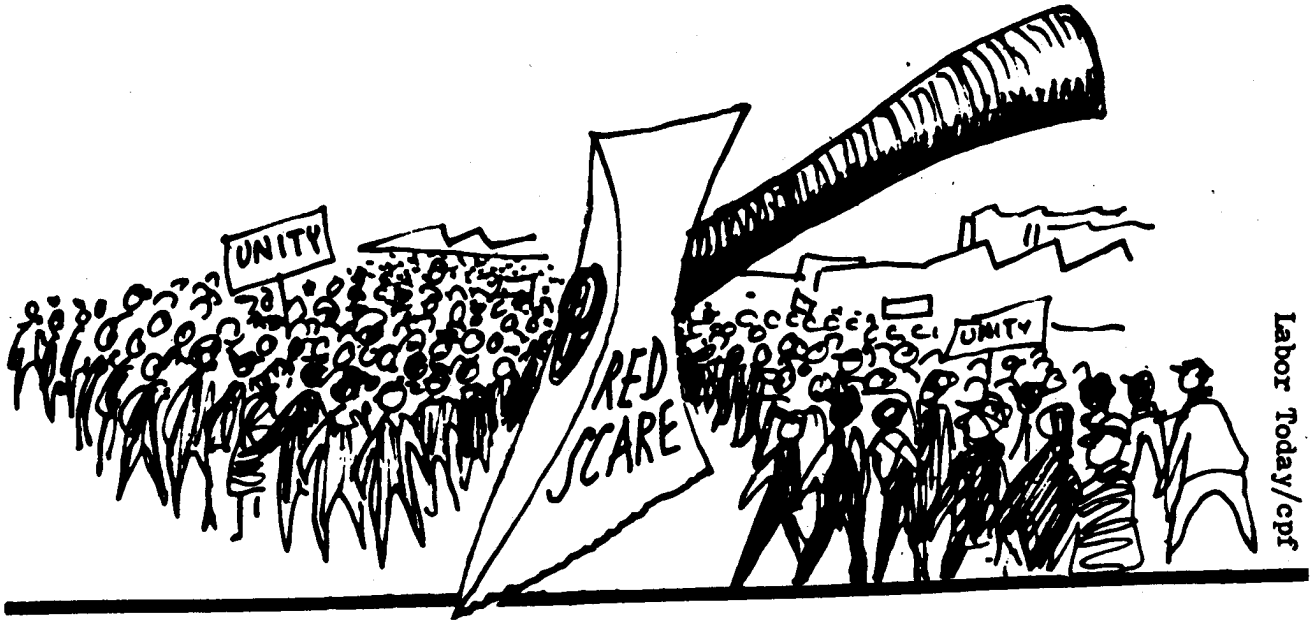

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Revitalizing the Green Berets:

John Wayne Rides Again

by John Kelly

> In an unusual role, the staff chaplain (of the Green Berets) will review operational orders as they are carried out to check on their morality. "We don't want to see any My Lais coming out of this (rejuvenation of the Green Berets)," said one officer, referring to the massacre in Vietnam in 1968.(NYT, 10/25/82)

John Wayne would have been proud. With none of his usual brazen fanfare, Ronald Reagan is bringing the notorious Green Berets out of the closet. The U.S. Army has established a Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg, North Carolina for the Green Berets, the Black Berets (Army Rangers), the Air Force Special Operations Wing and the Navy Seals. The Command is headed by Vietnam veteran Brig. Gen. Joseph C. Lutz. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has clearly spelled out the offensive nature of this revitalization: "We must revitalize and enhance special operations forces capability to project United States power where use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate or infeasible."

The September 16, 1982 announcement came not long after the CIA — a prime employer of special operations forces — launched its massive operation to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. Just as Green Berets intervened in Vietnam as a prelude to the full-scale invasion of U.S. troops in 1965, Reagan's deputies must now be closely watched for a repeat performance in Central America.

Special Operations Forces include units trained in varied and often publicly unknown tasks. They include Green Beret units based in Fort Bragg, Fort Devens (Massachusetts), Panama and West Germany; a psychological warfare unit, a secret counterterrorist unit, and a "civil affairs" group. The primary mission of the Green Berets is insurgency and training rightwing forces "in guerrilla operations, sabotage and terror. In addition to training foreign nationals as counterinsurgents, Green Berets themselves initiate combat operations. Their fellow Black Berets (Army Rangers), based at Hunter Army Field, Georgia, and Fort Lewis, Washington, provide back-up support for unconventional forces.

The Air Force's Special Operations Wing, with headquarters at Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, flies unmarked black planes with cargo for special ground forces or their allies, parachutes secret agents and saboteurs, and extracts U.S. citizens and their allies from enemy territory. This wing also flies gunships in support of special ground forces. The C-130 planes used during the attempted hostage rescue in Iran in 1980 were from this wing. Finally, the Navy Seals, with air, land and sea teams, are trained to sink ships by planting explosives, to sabotage harbor operations, and to move inland to destroy facilities.

Tasks Ahead

Green Berets have already trained Salvadoran military forces at Fort Bragg in 1982. The pressing danger that the Green Berets might soon be deployed as combat troops in El Salvador and similar insurgencies elsewhere becomes clear in light of a five-phase scheme of operations adopted by the Green Berets for assessing and

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fighting popular insurgencies. This scheme, devised by Vietnam veteran Brian Jenkins of the Rand Corporation presents a clinical approach that never questions the nature of the insurgency or the government the insurgency is directed against. As General Lutz explains, the decision to intervene simply depends on the "will and wherewithal" of the threatened government.

The five steps matter-of-factly condone police state and dictatorial measures. In the first phase, insurgents are to be battled with psychological warfare and so-called "civic action" programs such as pacification (which in Vietnam included assassinations and torture). By the second phase, the government is applying various police state measures, such as restricted movement, concentration camps, curfews and roadblocks. These actions it must blame on the insurgents, according to the scheme.

In the third phase, the Government "has to respond, not react," according to Green Beret Major Thomas Kuster. This involves a nationwide crack-down such as that presently in force in Guatemala. During this phase, counsels the scheme, an appropriate response would be a request for Green Berets to train the army to conduct search and destroy missions. The fourth phase calls for martial law, and, if that fails, a fifth phase follows: invasion by U.S. conventional forces. (The recent training of a Salvadoran battalion at Fort Bragg would place El Salvador in phase three of the Jenkins scheme. Martial law, the phase just before direct Green Beret intervention, although undeclared, exists for all practical purposes in El Salvador.

U.S. military planners already have been contemplating direct Green Beret intervention in El Salvador. However, they questioned whether the Green Berets could "mount a serious and effective counterinsurgency mission" and felt the spectre of Vietnam as a constraint. Chances for such an intervention improve, though, as Reagan installs old Indochina hands in key positions affecting U.S. policy in Central America. These include Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders, U.S. Ambassador to Honduras John Negroponte, and Office of Central American Affairs director Larry "Craig" Johnstone. Notorious as an "action-oriented" type, Johnstone served as special assistant to William Colby when he was directing the CIA/Green Berets mass assassination and torture program in Vietnam - Operation Phoenix. Johnstone has stated that he believes that the "domino theory" - once used to rationalize U.S. intervention in Vietnam - applies to Central America.

Protecting Corporate Interests

Special Forces now contribute about 25 percent of all Army mobile training teams. In 1982, as many as 130 teams were dispatched around the world. A recent Green Berets mission involved training 600 officers and soldiers of a Liberian Army battalion. "We kept it simple" in Liberia,

President Reagan is forging ahead with his special forces revitalization without Congressional involvement.

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said trainer Captain Thomas Grace; "Shoot, move and communicate."

Liberia is headed by military ruler Samuel Doe who in 1980 took power in a military coup. With the Green Berets backing him up, Doe has done a good job of protecting corporate interests through his enforcement of the economic performance requirements of the International Monetary Fund. In August 1982, Doe was feted at the White House (where Reagan introduced him as "Chairman Moe"). While in the U.S., Doe visited a number of corporate executives, notably those at Firestone, which has extensive holdings in Liberia.

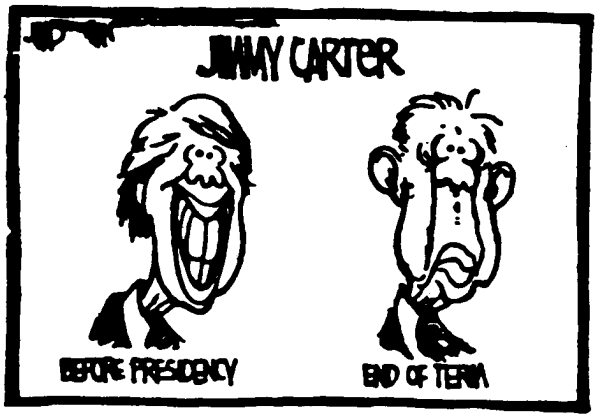
Further evidence that the Green Berets will be deployed to protect transnational corporate interests is provided in the Defense Department Guidance for Fiscal Years 1984 to 1988. In the Middle East, special operations forces would move in rapidly, ahead of conventional forces to keep the oilfields safe for U.S. corporations. The Guidance explains: "Our principal objectives are to assure continued access to Persian Gulf oil and to prevent the Soviets from acquiring political-military control of the oil directly or through proxies....Whatever the circumstances, we should be prepared to introduce American forces directly into the region should it appear that the security of access to Persian Gulf oil is threatened."

Just as the Green Berets intervened in Vietnam as a prelude to a full-scale invasion . . . , Reagan's deputies must now be closely watched for a repeat performance in Central America.

Ronald Reagan is forging ahead with his special forces revitalization without Congressional involvement, just as President John F. Kennedy, the "father figure" of the Green Berets, created them unilaterally. The President is thus denying Congress its sole constitutional authority: "calling for the militia" by appropriating funds for the military. Funding items for special operations are left "undesignated," hidden in dark corners of the proposed 1984 military budget. (This constitutional power was vested in Congress to assure that military actions would not be undertaken without meaningful debate. James Wilson, one of the most active participants in the drafting of the Constitution, told the Constitutional Convention this was to guard against being "hurried" into war; to insure that no "single man [can]...involve us in such distress."

Two hundred years later, President Reagan is able to unleash the Green Berets with no consultation or approval by Congress. The Green Berets are, needless to say, delighted with the turnabout. As Gen. Lutz said, "We have a very viable mission today...We kind of feel we're on the upswing."

The New York Times recently argued that with his creation of the Green Berets 20 years ago, President Kennedy "made respectable what the military calls counterinsurgency." Reagan's design to recreate that "respectability" should be seen for what it is: an endorsement of the tactics of terror, assassination and brutality.



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Ireland

British Plastic Bullets Kill

by Kathleen O'Neal

Carol Ann Kelly was 12 years old when a British soldier shot her in the head with a plastic bullet on May 19, 1981. She was returning home to the outskirts of West Belfast in northern Ireland with a carton of milk for her mother. Three days later she was dead. Witnesses before an international tribunal testified that she was nowhere near a riot situation. Her tombstone reads: "Murdered by the British Army."

Carol Ann is one of 14 civilians (seven of them children) British security forces have murdered in recent years with plastic and rubber bullets. Hundreds more have suffered severe injuries, including brain damage, blinding, and damage to the liver, spleen, kidneys and intestines.

The plastic and rubber bullets that rendered this carnage are the pride of the British security forces' anti-civilian arsenal in northern Ireland. The 5-1/4 ounce rubber bullet was introduced in 1970. Since then, more than 55,000 rounds have been fired. The harder, more accurate and more deadly plastic bullet (5 ounces, 3 7/8 inches long and 1-1/2 inches wide) was introduced in 1973 and since then well over 47,000 rounds have been fired at unarmed Irish civilians.[1] The bullets have been used nowhere in the United Kingdom except northern Ireland and have been used exclusively against the Irish nationalist community.

Britain introduced the bullets into northern Ireland in response to the civil rights movement of the early 1970s and the consequent reemergence of the national liberation movement.

Kathleen O'Neal is an Irish-American activist.

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When the civil rights movement triggered brutal loyalist pogroms against the nationalist communities of Derry and Belfast and the British Army "intervention" developed into a repressive occupation of those communities, the Irish Republican Army reemerged. Its initial task was to protect the nationalist community. As it developed, however, it extended its mission to ending British Army occupation of northeast Ireland. The IRA's goal is to reunite the island into a 32-county economy under the control of the Irish people and to establish a sovereign republic determined to reject incorporation into NATO or the Warsaw Pact.[2]

The problem presented to the British government by the war in northern Ireland is that the enemy is virtually indistinguishable from the nationalist community. The IRA claims it is "one of the few guerrilla armies that lives and fights in the occupied area." Its survival thus far indicates its success in relying on the nationalist community for its livelihood and protection.

To fight this invisible army, the British Army has chosen to attack the IRA's lifeline, i.e. the men, women and children of the nationalist community. The British strategy is to use state terror to demoralize the nationalist community, break its allegiance with the Irish Republican Army and thereby destroy the movement for Irish reunification. As Britain's counterinsurgency expert Brigadier General Frank Kitson has written, "if rod and net cannot succeed by themselves, it may be necessary to do something to the water which will force the fish to a position where it can be caught. Conceivably it may be necessary to kill the fish by polluting the water."[3]

Britain's problem of fighting an anti-civilian war is compounded by the necessity of covering up the war's anti-civilian nature so as not to weaken domestic support or elicit international outrage. This is where the plastic and rubber bullets fit in. They effectively terrorize the nationalist community while appearing to be benign and even "humane" to the outside world. The bullets fulfill both military and propaganda requirements of the war in Ireland.

Misinformation related to the nature and use of plastic and rubber bullets has been carefully cultivated by the British government and dutifully disseminated by the British and American media. After the introduction of the rubber bullets in 1970 a Guardian (London) reporter wrote: "Soon they'll be lobbing grenades full of confetti. You can't take this sort of thing seriously at all."[4] The U.S. press has been conspicuously silent on the issue. In September 1981, one month after an international tribunal sponsored by the Association of Legal Justice of Belfast determined that British security forces were indiscriminately shooting to kill unarmed Irish civilians, the Washington Post published a three-part series on northern Ireland by its London correspondent, Leonard Downie. Downie devoted one short paragraph to plastic bullets. It began, "When pinned down the security forces respond by firing plastic bullets."[5]

The plastic and rubber bullets . . . effectively terrorize the nationalist community while appearing to be benign and even "humane" to the outside world. The bullets fulfill both military and propaganda requirements of the war in Ireland.

Misinformation concerning the nature and use of the plastic and rubber bullets not only defies northern Ireland's record of death and injury but also scientific experimental evidence compiled by U.S. Army researchers which is accessible to the British government via U.S.-U.K. information sharing agreements. As early as 1970, research funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and conducted by the U.S. Army Land Warfare Laboratory at Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland found that projectiles similar to the plastic bullet caused "severe damage."

The projectiles were tested by firing them at the heads of baboons and the bodies of small pigs.[6] The results established a "hazard" range: A projectile with a force of 15 foot pounds (the energy required to raise one pound the distance of one foot) was considered "safe" or "low hazard;" 30 to 90 foot pounds "dangerous;" and more than 90 foot pounds severely damaging. Injuries included serious skin lacerations, massive skull fractures, rupture and destruction of the kidney, fracture and fragmentation of the liver, hemorrhages, necrosis (localized death of tissue) and rupture of the heart.[7]

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The weapon tested which was most similar to the plastic bullet was the Stun-Bag. Initial energy of the Stun-Bag was recorded at 288 foot pounds; at 25 yards 150 foot pounds; at 50 yards 81 foot pounds.[8] In practice, plastic bullets are fired well within the "severe damage" distance of 50 yards. Plastic bullets killed 31-year-old Nora McCabe in July 1981 from a distance of only six feet and 15-year-old Paul Whitters in April 1981 from a distance of 21 feet.[9]

With abundant experimental and experiential evidence indicating plastic and rubber bullets are severely dangerous, it is not surprising the British government has shrouded their use in secrecy and deception. Plastic and rubber bullets are important keys to understanding the nature of the war there. The fact that lethal anti-civilian weapons are being used against the unarmed nationalist community destroys Britain's decades-old lie that it is merely keeping the peace in northern Ireland.

Footnotes:

1) "They Shoot Children," Information on Ireland, London, 1982, pp. 18, 38.
2) "Eire Nua: Programme for Social and Economic Development," Freedom Struggle, The Provisional IRA, 1973, p. 96.
3) Frank Kitson, Low Intensity Operations, Faber and Faber, London, 1971, p. 49.
4) Cf. supra, #1, pp. 14-15.
5) Leonard Downie, "Ulster: A Political Solution?," Washington Post, 9/7/81, p. A-12.
6) Carol Ackyroyd, Karen Margolis, Jonathan Rosenhead, and Tim Shallice, The Technology of Political Control, Pluto Press, London, 1980, p. 208.
7) Ibid.
8) Ibid., p. 209.
9) Cf. supra, #1, p. 26.

U.S. Jury Decides IRA Gunrunning Not a Crime

by John Cavanagh and John Kelly

On November 5, 1982, five Irish-Americans, self-avowed gunrunners, were acquitted in a U.S. District Court of violation of the Federal Firearms Law. It was the culmination of a drama jointly engineered by the FBI and the CIA. The ingredients included:

- a courtroom filled with submachine guns, cannon shells and a U.S. Army flamethrower;
- an FBI scam inadvertently exposing decades of CIA gunrunning, including arms shipments to the Irish Republican Army (IRA);
- a former U.S. Attorney General testifying about similar covert CIA operations during his tenure in office; and
- a defense attorney who informed the jury: "My client feels somewhat insulted" that the indictment covers only the last six months of his gunrunning activities because, "as the government well knows, [he] has aided, and abetted, and supplied arms to the rebels in Northern Ireland for a quarter of a century."

The six-week trial was a remarkable exposure of CIA gunrunning activities and of U.S. complicity in foreign intelligence operations in the United States. It showed too that the CIA secrecy oath compels its agents to perjure themselves. The oldest of the defendants, Michael Flannery, was already a 14-year-old IRA member when the 1916 Easter Rising was launched in Dublin. The other four, George Harison, Thomas Falvey, Patrick Mullin, and Daniel Gormely, have long supported the Republican cause. During the 25 years Harrison was exporting military equipment to Ireland, all

John Kelly is co-editor of CounterSpy. John Cavanagh is a member of CounterSpy's advisory board.

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five became involved in arming the IRA.

For over two decades, Harrison bought arms from New York gun shop owner George DeMeo who told his clients that he was working for the CIA. DeMeo ran arms all over the world during the 1960s and 1970s until stolen guns in England and Ireland were traced back to his store in 1980. DeMeo purchased a lenient sentence by becoming an FBI informer. His first FBI job was to set up his longtime Irish-American clients in an operation code-named "Bushmill." In early 1981, believing that DeMeo was still a CIA operative, the five defendants prepared to purchase a large quantity of arms from him and undercover FBI agent John Winslow, alias John White. After Winslow delivered a shipment to one of the defendants' homes, FBI agents made the arrest.

A History of Gunrunning

The defense was based on a rather simple argument: that the defendants had sent arms to the IRA under the belief that they were being purchased from the CIA. As testimony in the trial confirmed, the CIA and other U.S. government agencies are the largest arms merchants in the world. Twenty-five year CIA veteran Ralph McGehee testified that U.S. arms shipments often included sales to insurgents, at times to different factions in the same war. This was the case in Ireland, where both the British government and the IRA use U.S. weapons. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark buttressed McGehee's statement by testifying that the CIA undertook a series of covert operations during his tenure similar to DeMeo's arms shipments to the IRA.

Considerable effort was made during the trial to ascertain whether DeMeo was, as he had claimed to the defendants, a CIA agent. This proved no easy task. In response to questions about CIA plots and arms pushing, DeMeo invoked the Fifth Amendment more than 80 times. This constitutional amendment allows persons to refuse to answer questions which might be self-indicting. An ex-U.S. Army intelligence officer, Vernon Redick, who had repeatedly sold arms to DeMeo, testified at the trial that DeMeo once told him he was buying guns for the IRA on behalf of the CIA. This claim was supported by a 1979 incident when the two men were arrested in a covert arms deal involving a Third World nation. DeMeo told Redick then that "the company" (an insiders' term for the CIA) would protect them. Sure enough, on the morning of that trial, the government prosecutor withdrew the charges in the interest of "national security."

Despite this evidence, it was impossible to prove DeMeo's CIA links, as brought out in a question the defense lawyer put to DeMeo: "If you were a CIA agent,...wouldn't you have to say you weren't?" Former CIA agent McGehee clarified this point in his response to the question: "Is there a concept of 'need to lie?'" McGehee: "Yes. You cannot use the truth.... [The CIA agents' oath] 'to protect sources and methods' requires lying."

Intelligence Collaboration

The trial uncovered a beehive of joint activity between U.S. and British intelligence in pursuit of the five defendants. As one Irish-American paper (The Irish People) observed, "The trial testimony has at times seemed like a directory of the various British intelligence agencies. FBI agents have calmly announced that British agents and members of the infamous Royal Ulster Constabulary [a police force which terrorizes nationalists in northern Ireland] have not only been permitted to spy on American citizens in the United States, but also have been given assistance." This collaboration represents an escalation of activity since the mid-1970s when FBI Director Clarence Kelley admitted in a September 23, 1975 letter that British intelligence officers were surveilling Irish-Americans who were critical of British policy in Ireland.

The six-week trial was a remarkable exposure of CIA gunrunning activities and of U.S. complicity in foreign intelligence operations in the United States.

It is ironic that the British, who stand to lose the most as a result of the trial, were

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instrumental in initiating it. The London Sunday Express reported that the "arms trial in New York had its origins two years ago [in] a telephone conversation between 10 Downing Street [the British prime minister's residence] and the White House." To induce further CIA cooperation, Britain's intelligence agency M16 "not only cooperated closely with the CIA and the FBI, but the CIA station chief in London was taken on a guided tour of Northern Ireland."

Britain's response to the defendants' acquittal was quick. Within nine days, Northern Ireland Secretary James Prior flew to the U.S. to stop the flow of arms. Prior immediately displayed his regard for the legal process in the U.S. by demanding that Michael Flannery be tried again — an option precluded by the U.S. legal principle of "double jeopardy" which ensures that those acquitted cannot be retried.

The fight resumed in the same District Court in December 1982 when Brian McKeon was brought to trial for conspiring to ship arms to the North of Ireland. That trial ended in a mistrial when the jury again refused to convict a supporter of the Irish liberation struggle. The prosecution, however, immediately moved for a new trial, giving credence to James Prior's contention that the Reagan administration has promised to stop "by any means" all aid to northern Ireland.

The defense was based on a rather simple argument: that the defendants had sent arms to the IRA under the belief that they were being purchased from the CIA.

International Terrorism?

The British and U.S. governments have long attempted to dismiss the Irish Republican Army as a "terrorist" organization. However, a legal advisor to the U.S. Department of State, in comments on a U.S.-proposed draft Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Certain Acts of International Terrorism, draws a rather different picture of IRA activities:

> ...the convention would not deal with internal conflicts within a state unless such conflicts were exported to the territory of third states or directed against third-country nationals. Thus, the convention would neither cover the act of a freedom fighter in Rhodesia or Angola who attacks a government soldier nor an attack by a member of the IRA against a British soldier in Northern Ireland. Indeed, the convention does not affect the right of self-determination in any way. That right is enshrined in the U.N. Charter and strongly reaffirmed in the Friendly Relations Declaration. The United States, in line with its own historic experience, is a strong supporter of that rights (Department of State Bulletin, 12/4/72).

By drawing an analogy between the IRA's struggle for an independent Ireland and the American revolution, this State Department legal advisor clearly puts into question the British contention that the IRA is a "terrorist" organization.

On the other hand, the label "terrorist" might fit another group in the Irish conflict quite well, as suggested by testimony from the "Troops Out Movement," an organization of British soldiers who have served in Ireland. Britain seems to have no policy on northern Ireland, states the movement, "other than a commitment to maintain the state. But there is one policy which has remained consistent....That is to respond to Loyalist pressure by using the army...to terrorize the Catholic communities....The excuse used is the necessity, in [counter-insurgency expert] Kitson's charming phrase, to 'squeeze the population until it vomits up the terrorists.'"

The Troops Out Movement statement continues: "How else do you explain the regular beatings, the raids on hundreds of homes [British officials] know are not occupied by IRA members, the rape and deliberate humiliation of women, the threats and bullying, the surveillance and general harassment." British army presence in northern Ireland has one primary purpose: to shore up "a state which has no right to continue - a state founded on prejudice, and which can only be held together by terror."

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The CIA and the Irish Republican Army

On the surface, it appears baffling that the CIA would supply arms to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). During the trial, defense witnesses claimed that the CIA facilitated the gunrunning in order to monitor the flow of weapons to the IRA, to keep a toehold in the organization, and to keep it from seeking other sources such as the Soviet Union. Former CIA officer Ralph McGehee testified that for these reasons it was a common CIA practice to send weapons even to guerrilla movements fighting allied governments.

There could well have been yet another rationale: the CIA has a long history of undertaking covert operations to replace British control with U.S. dominance in former British colonies. About the same time that George DeMeo began selling arms to the IRA, allegedly on behalf of the CIA, British intelligence wrote a secret report about the motivations behind CIA labor operations in former British colonies in Africa. Dated December 12, 1959, the report, "Annex to Cabinet Paper on Policy in Africa," stated that during negotiations which preceded a Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), then financed by the CIA) the State Department and U.S. union leaders "made no real secret of the fact that participation of the American trade unions in the ICFTU would be used to further the developing political and economic interests of the U.S.A. in Africa....The aim seems to be to take advantage of the difficult situation in which the United Kingdom and other European powers find themselves and replace their interests and influence by direct U.S. penetration in Africa."

"The Americans are not interested in the creation in Africa of genuine trade unions as we know them," charged the report. "The American trade union leaders such as Meany, Reuther and Dubinsky can afford directly and openly to execute governmental and particularly CIA policy." The British intelligence paper concluded that U.S. union leaders have always "sought to build up the trade union movement in Africa on the basis of privileged leaders. Their chief weapon...is the bribing of anti-Communist and anti-Colonial elements in the trade union and nationalist movement."

The CIA has a long history of undertaking covert operations to replace British control with U.S. dominance in former British colonies.

(It should be added that there is no documented Soviet involvement in the Irish nationalist struggle. A secret British government report conceded that there is none. See "Document 37: British Admit IRA is Anti-Colonialist Force," CounterSpy vol. 6, no. 4.)

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Guatemala

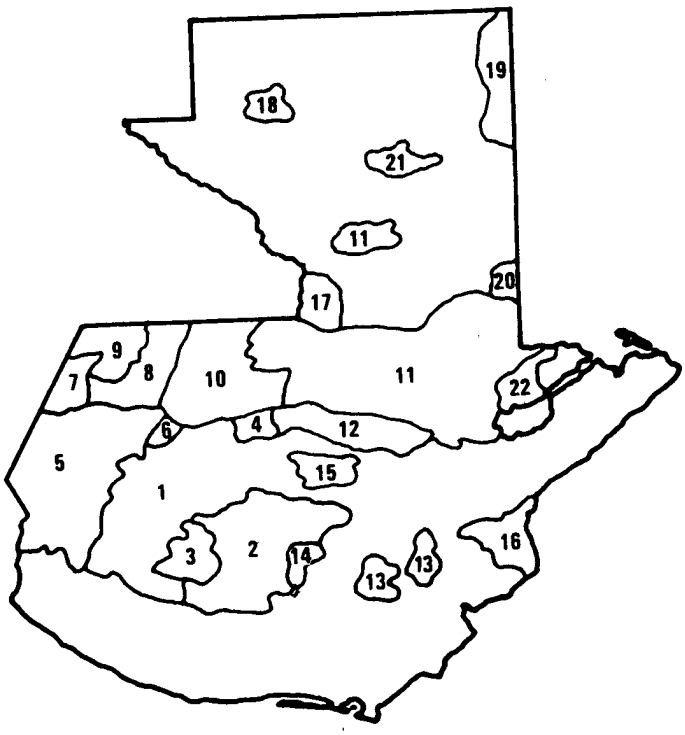
Reagan to the Rescue

Guatemalan President General Efrain Rios Montt is "a man of great integrity," according to President Reagan. After meeting with Rios Montt in early December 1982, Reagan predicted that U.S. military aid to Guatemala would be renewed because of his perception of an improving human rights situation since the general took power in a March 1982 coup. Rios Montt even promised Reagan that he was "emphasizing winding up the death squads," thereby acknowledging that they still operate in Guatemala even though the general had announced immediately after his coup that he would abolish these terrorist organizations.

Jose Efrain Rosales Marroquin and Manuela Saquic, two Guatemalan peasants, view things differently. From their vantage point, government abuses have only worsened since Rios Montt took power, as they describe in the following interviews with CounterSpy. The two are members of the Committee for Peasant Unity (CUC), the largest peasant organization in Guatemala, and are Quiche and Ixil Indians, respectively. Both were forced to leave Guatemala in May 1982; Saquic after she took part in CUC's non-violent takeover of the Brazilian embassy in Guatemala City in May 1982 to denounce Rios Montt's repression in the countryside. CUC earlier reported that the repression had cost 3,000 lives in the first two months of Rios Montt's rule.

CUC's charges are supported by a number of human rights organizations. The Guatemalan Bishops Conference denounced Rios Montt's counterinsurgency campaign as "genocide." Unable to stem the strength of the unified revolutionary movement, which is backed by the overwhelming majority of the Indian population

MAP OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION



1. QUICHE
2. CAKCHIQUEL
3. TZUTUJIL
4. USPANTECO
5. MAM
6. AGUACATECO
7. JACALTECO
8. KANJOBAL
9. CHUJ
10. IXIL
11. KEKCHI
12. POCOMCHI
13. POCOMAM ORIENTAL
14. POCOMAM CENTRAL
15. ACHI
16. CHORTI
17. LACANDON CHOL
18. LACANDON NORTE
19. YUCATECO
20. MOPAU
21. ITZA
22. CARIBE ARAGUACO

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in Guatemala, Rios Montt has intensified the campaign of terror carried out by his predecessor, General Lucas Garcia. More recently, Rios Montt has supplemented state-sponsored terrorism with a "beans and bullets" campaign reminiscent of the strategic hamlets strategy used by the U.S. in Vietnam. This has already involved uprooting thousands of Indians from the Guatemalan countryside.

Ronald Reagan, operating under his Latin America domino theory, claims that "Communism" is an "alien" ideology, brought to Central America by a "far away power." He is anxious to step up military aid to Guatemala. President Jimmy Carter halted this aid in 1977 because of gross human rights violations. Nonetheless, Guatemala has continued to receive aid from the United States, including counterinsurgency training. Israel has also supplied the Guatemalan military and is now Guatemala's principal arms supplier.

In order to publicly justify military support for Rios Montt, the Reagan administration is portraying the dictator in the most favorable light possible - as a born-again Christian fighting a "brutal challenge from guerrillas" who are

Rios Montt even promised Reagan that he was "emphasizing winding up the death squads," thereby acknowledging that they still operate in Guatemala.

"supported by others outside Guatemala." Reagan will have a hard time, though, blaming the rise of the Guatemalan guerrilla movement on intervention "by Soviet surrogate Cuba." The Guatemalan struggle began long before the Cuban revolution took place.

Jose Efrain Rosales Marroquin:

"Rios Montt is Deceiving the People"

The Reagan administration says things have changed in Guatemala since Rios Montt took power in March 1982.

True, things have changed. But for the worse. There have been more than 80 massacres since March. The first massacre that I saw was in Santa Cruz del Quiche, that's the town that I am from. In April 1982 there was a massacre four kilometers from my home in Santa Cruz del Quiche. The military massacred 75 people - old people, women and children.

Rios Montt is deceiving the people, saying that his government is directed by God. Rios Montt said also first that he wanted to disarm all of former President Lucas Garcia's death squads. This was a lie, the truth is that Rios Montt gave those who killed for Lucas new uniforms. They began to kill even worse than they had before, except now they are doing it officially, as members of the Army, police, border police or as detectives. The saddest thing that Rios Montt does is the massacring and the torturing of children. Children were tortured under Lucas also, but it is still going on under Rios Montt.

What is Rios Montt trying to accomplish?

More than anything, he wants to exterminate the peasant people, the Indian people. He wants to be on the side of the rich, on the side of the people in the Army. What the Army is defending are the interests of the rich.

What about U.S. interests?

There are about 120 transnational corporations in Guatemala, and of these, about 105 are from the United States.

We hear about Rios Montt setting up strategic hamlets or so-called protected villages.

Yes, that's true. The town of San Martin de Jilotepeque is an example. From October 18 to 20, the Army encircled the town, they

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threatened the people, but they also offered them food, clothing and housing - things the people need. So what happens then, the government sends in the ambassadors and the journalists to deceive the world by pretending that he is helping these communities. People in these "protected villages" are also coerced into building highways for military convoys to come in.

The government has made some gains with their strategic hamlets strategy in some towns, particularly in the province of Chimaltenango. But the Army has a hard time controlling that many people, particularly since under the control of the Army people still suffer hunger. They still don't have enough. We know well that Rios Montt might succeed in threatening the people. They are in the Army's hands. The people are against Rios Montt.... The government is desperate. Rios Montt knows the people are not with him. That's why he is massacring the people and uses the scorched earth strategy. ...

That's the way the military does it: They surround a community, the military comes by land and with their helicopters. They massacre the people, they burn the food, the woods, clothes and even the animals. That happens more or less each week.

There are one million displaced people in Guatemala. But the people are strong. So after the Army is finished with a village, the people who have fled come right back. They rebuild their houses.... And since they have no food, no clothes, other communities come and help them out.

The government is desperate. Rios Montt knows the people are not with him. That's why he is massacring the people and uses the scorched earth strategy.

A recent press report here said that a U.S. officer is training Guatemalan soldiers in counterinsurgency tactics.

We knew that training like that was going on a long time ago. But we couldn't say it very clearly because we didn't have proof. But we also know that there are U.S. officers who participate in the massacres. They are not only technical advisors, they participate in the massacres. Often the public line is that these officers are teaching English. We also know that there are advisors from Israel; they are collaborating with the Army and help massacre the people.

Manuela Saquic:

"Rios Montt is Trying to Wipe Out the Indian Population."

Why did you take over the Brazilian embassy?

During the time of Lucas, there was an Army offensive against the people of Chimaltenango and Quiche. This was a very difficult time with many massacres, but it continued under Rios Montt and has become even worse. The Army is everywhere right now. They search people in the towns, we have to run from the towns, hide ourselves in little ravines, underneath bushes, wherever we can. So many times we would be gathered together by the military, the people from one village, and two or three people would be picked out and shot right in front of us. Or the soldiers would knock out peoples' teeth with a hammer, and then they would force others to swallow the teeth. ... The military is doing all they can to stop the struggle of the people. ... Many times they gather people together and put them into little farmhouses, throw gasoline around, and then burn the people alive.

Things like that occur all the time. We took the embassy to denounce what the military is doing, particularly against the Indian people. Eighty percent of the people in Guatemala are Indians, and what we are struggling for is that we won't be interfered with. The government of Rios Montt is trying to wipe out the Indian population....

How do people normally live?

There are no schools, no hospitals, no highway, nothing like that. Since we were little children, we have been weaving, cooking, working. Since most of the people don't know Spanish, they can't read. ... Also many people go to the coast to harvest the coffee and the cotton and cut sugar cane. Often people are forced to. These people are not paid well. The only pay they really get is malaria, fever, illnesses.

What does Rios Montt want?

It seems the government and the government of the United States

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want another Vietnam in Central America. If they want another Vietnam, we are ready to bring it to its final conclusion. They can fight with their planes and helicopters and their well-equipped Army. But the Guatemalan Army itself is another matter because people there are draftees, they are forced into the Army. They don't know what they should be fighting for. The people know, we know why we are fighting. That's why the Army will fall in a short time.

There is supposed to be no military aid from the U.S. but it is coming through Israel. Israel is sending helicopters, arms and Galil machineguns. Then there are the civilian helicopters from the United States. They are supposed to be used for transportation, for communications, for hospitals, but that's not true. These civilian helicopters, more than the military helicopters, the green ones, are being used in massacres....

Then there is military aid from Chile, Taiwan and Argentina and other countries to help the Guatemalan military. The majority of the people, Indians and Ladinos (people of primarily Spanish descent), are against the military. It's not a race war but a class war. Without military aid, we'd kick them out.

The majority of the people, Indians and Ladinos . . . are against the military. It's not a race war but a class war.

Rini Templeton

Mercy Helicopters for Rios Montt

What Guatemalan General Rios Montt needs most — and what he is getting from the Reagan administration — is several million dollars worth of helicopter spare parts. Helicopters are a crucial element in Rios Montt's counterinsurgency campaign: his troops require rapid access to mountainous areas where the guerrillas are active. This large shipment will greatly augment the equipment already provided by a number of U.S.-based fundamentalist Christian organizations who have been helping to buy civilian helicopters for their brother, "born again Christian" Rios Montt in order to fulfill "God's marvelous plan" for Guatemala.

The Reagan administration announced in January 1983 that it is abolishing the ban on military sales to Guatemala, imposed by President Carter because of human rights violations. Reagan needs Congressional approval to do that, and it appears to be forthcoming in spite of the human rights rhetoric of the Interamerican Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The Committee actually has done little to enforce the Carter administration ban. The flow of military equipment to Guatemala was never entirely stopped. Documents discovered in a Guatemalan helicopter shot down by the guerrillas in October 1982 prove that the Reagan administration has secretly supplied military equipment — probably helicopter spare parts — to Rios Montt in violation of the ban. The equipment was shipped from Homestead Air Force Base in Florida. Moreover, according to the Fort Worth Star Telegram (12/3/82), during the last two years the Guatemalan government has bought an average of one helicopter per month, most of them from Bell Helicopter of Fort Worth, Texas. Many of these helicopters are then equipped with machine guns. Guatemala's Defense Attache in

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Making the U.S. Congress the Battlefield

In its effort to justify sending military aid to the Rios Montt regime, the State Department is anxious to discredit organizations reporting human rights violations in Guatemala, such as Amnesty International, the Washington Office on Latin America, the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala and the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission. An internal report prepared by the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala, apparently written to help U.S. officials discredit these human rights organizations, concludes that a "Communist-backed campaign" is being "waged in the U.S. against the Guatemalan Government by groups supporting the leftwing insurgency in Guatemala."

The report, obtained by CounterSpy, concedes that "it is likely that the Guatemalan army has inded committed some atrocities." It charges, though, that the "disinformation" campaign against Rios Montt intends to make "the U.S. Congress the battlefield" by manipulating Congress into believing that it should not give aid to the Guatemalan government.

Guatemala's dictatorship finds enthusiastic supporters in the State Department and the document spreads their version of a Communist plot: "In the fight to win Central America, the Marxists know full well the importance of Guatemala: the largest and most economically potent country in Central America." These Marxists are habitual liars, implies the report, because, "as Solzhenitsyn pointed out in his Nobel lecture, 'anyone who has once proclaimed violence as his method must inexorably choose the lie as his principle.'"

The Embassy's prime contention is that most reports by human rights organizations are based on "communist" sources inside Guatemala. The Embassy report points out, for instance, that Amnesty International cites data from the Commitee for Peasant Unity, which is said to be a "communist-led, World Federation Trade Union-supported (communist) campesino union."

The Embassy report takes a no-lose approach in criticizing the human rights organizations: if several describe an incident of human rights violations in the same way, the Embassy complains that they are all based on a single source and therefore not sufficiently verified. If, on the other hand, the organizations' reports vary in details, the Embassy charges "distortion." In this way every report can be discredited. The Embassy report concludes with a list of atrocities it claims were committed by guerrilla groups, but doesn't provide a single source for its data.

Washington, D.C., Mario Piaz, admitted that the armed "civilian" helicopters are "being used for reconnaissance and to transport troops to stop the mobility of the communist guerrillas." Paiz also conceded that the Army is killing "women, children and elderly people" in its war against the guerrillas.

Chances are good that Rios Montt won't even have to pay for some future acquisitions. International Love Lift has stepped in to pick up the tab. International Love Lift is a project of Gospel Outreach, a Eureka, California church with a branch in Guatemala. Rios Montt was converted to this church in 1978. Elders of Gospel Outreach are touring the United States to raise funds for International Love Lift, some of which are to be used to buy "mercy helicopters" for the Guatemalan government. Rios Montt says he needs these "mercy helicopters" to help his "brothers" in the countryside.

For Gospel Outreach, Rios Montt's military coup in 1981 is "God's miracle." Says Elder Carlos Ramirez: "I want you to realize just how strategic Guatemala is in relationship to the United States.... If Guatemala falls, what then? — Mexico? Wouldn't you agree that we really don't have much more time to unite?" Rios Montt is excited about International Love Lift. He claims it will "assist the 250,000 people that today are homeless within our country." (See letter.)

Other "Christian" organizations that have promised to aid Rios Montt are the Billy Graham Association and Campus Crusade for Christ, along with Jerry Falwell of the so-called Moral Majority, TV preacher Pat Robertson and New York Congressman Jack Kemp. Gospel Outreach propaganda gives the impression that all evangelical Christians in Guatemala — possibly 20 percent of the population — support Rios Montt. That is simply not true. The Army has massacred evangelical Christians in the same fashion it has disposed of others. Only one week after Rios Montt took power, soldiers threw grenades into an evangelical church in Chupol, Quiche province, accusing those inside of being guerrillas. 36 people were killed.

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JEFATURA DE GOBIERNO

de la
REPUBLICA DE GUATEMALA
Centro América

julio 26 de 1982,

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Love Lift International, is a Christian Organization that has been helping our country, Guatemala in several aspects such as: reconstruction, Medical and Odontological Clinics, Christian Schools, etc.. for several years now, since the earthquake that struck our country in 1976.

Love Lift International, as a group of devoted Christian brethren has given to their work that special touch that comes from our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have considered International Love Lift as an appropiate organization to coordinate the involvement of Christian ministries and Churces troughout the United States in relief and development projects that will assist the 250,000 people that today are homeless within our country.

I will appreciate any kind of assistance that you can give to them in order to achieve this blessed task that has been placed in their hands.

On behalf of my people, it is my privilege to extend to you, our warmest forms of appreciation and gratitude.

GENERAL DE BRIGADA
JOSE EFRAIN RIOS MONTT

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JACK KEMP
THIRTY-EIGHTH DISTRICT
NEW YORK

July 30, 1982

Dear Friend,

I am persuaded that the course of events in the next few years in Guatemala for good or bad will be a determining factor in the future of all of Latin America. Presently there is a Christian who is the President of Guatemala, Efrian Rios Montt. I strongly endorse and support Christian efforts to give support to his country. Guatemala could be a light of Christian hope to all of Latin America and provide positive alternatives to the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Very sincerely yours,

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Book Reviews

Making Australia Safe for the U.S. Military

Rooted in Secrecy: the Clandestine Element in Australian Politics, by Joan Coxsedge, Ken Coldicutt and Gerry Harant. Committee for the Abolition of Political Police, Balwyn North, Australia, 1982, 250 pp. $20.00.

Rooted in Secrecy is a book written by activists and for activists. It is one of the few works analyzing Australian intelligence agencies - their power, their collaboration with extreme right-wing organizations and foreign intelligence agencies - and about the role the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the U.S. military are playing in Australian politics. Rooted in Secrecy was "not conceived in an ivory tower," its authors note, "nor was it intended to impress readers by a pretence of impartiality. Insights into political reality cannot be found by merely culling reference books or pursuing academic arguments." Instead, the writing of the book "was influenced by our participation in the political struggle and especially by our running battle with the secret agencies." (This might explain a number of minor factural errors.)

Rooted in Secrecy covers a vast amount of material, including chapters on the number and nature of U.S. military and intelligence facilities in Australia; CIA intervention to bring down the Australian Labor Party government in 1975; the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO, which has "internal security functions") and its ties to the extreme rightwing Croatian terrorist group, Ustasha; CIA subversion of labor unions; media manipulation by intelligence organizations; and ASIO infiltration of progressive groups. Non-Australian readers will find the introductory chapter, "The Australian Parliamentary Sideshow" an especially helpful and concise overview of Australian history.

Rooted in Secrecy does a good job of explaining how the Australian government has maintained the myth that secret agencies are needed to counter terrorism and uncover espionage plots. In reality, the Australian agencies have very little success in these areas. Several ASIO reports describe the terrorist threat to Australia as negligible, and when questioned by a government commission of inquiry, ASIO bureaucrats were not able to come up with a single success story of countering foreign espionage in Australia.

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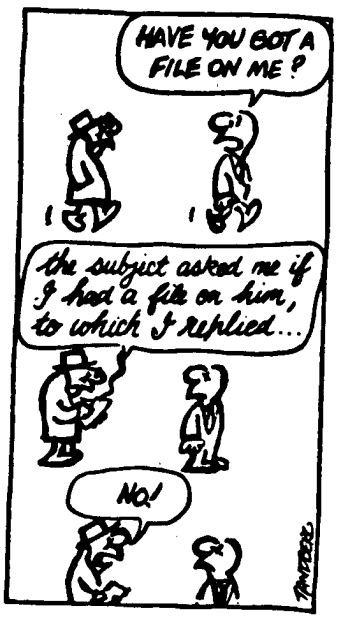
What Australian intelligence agencies really do, contend the authors, is to keep Australia safe for multinational corporations and the U.S. military. ASIO, for instance, spies on and infiltrates legal political organizations and prevents "undesirable" foreigners from entering the country. The Defence Signals Directorate's primary job is to aid the electronic spying activities of the U.S. National Security Agency which maintains a number of bases in Australia. These NSA listening posts also monitor internal Australian communications. The Australian Secret Intelligence Agency, the foreign intelligence body, collaborated with the CIA in overthrowing the Salvador Allende government in Chile in 1973 and the Sihanouk regime in Cambodia in 1970. Australian intelligence even helped the CIA depose Australia's own labor government in 1975.

The Committee for the Abolition of Political Police (CAPP), the book's publisher, has organized against Australia's secret police agencies for more than a decade. Rooted in Secrecy describes some of CAPP's activities because "it would be contrary to [the] intentions" of the book, say the authors, to leave the impression that "Australians are entirely at the mercy of secret agencies and that we are powerless to change the situation." CAPP's activities are varied and creative. Beyond the usual educational work and publication of pamphlets, CAPP has successfully subjected ASIO secrecy to ridicule. One day, for example, CAPP staked out ASIO offices with cameras in hand to capture the identities of intelligence officers. Here is what happened: "At 8 o'clock on a mild morning in March 1973, ... a party of CAPP members, armed to the teeth with cameras and notebooks, took up their positions outside the entrance [of ASIO headquarters] to wait for the dedicated spies to start their day's work. The results were surprising. The spies were reluctant to show



their faces. The park [next to the ASIO building] had never been so busy, as men in neat business suits, clutching their briefcases, milled aimlessly before taking cover behind the nearest trees. . . . ASIO cars making for the building approached the corner, then veered off in endless runs around the neighborhood. Mid-morning, a couple of CAPP counter-spies dropped into a small coffeeshop down the road. They were almost trampled underfoot as the ASIO people sheltering inside rushed for the door, leaving a score of half empty coffee cups. . . No one reported for work at ASIO-HQ all morning."

Another day CAPP members approached ASIO headquarters at the end of the working day with their cameras: ASIO officials simply refused to leave the building, and the Victoria police were called in to give assistance and asked CAPP what was going on. "Making a comedy film," was the reply. The police nodded and went on their way.

Over the last few years, the Australian government has instituted several new laws to counter citizens' activities against intelligence abuses. One law, strikingly similar to the U.S. "Intelligence Identities Protection Act" makes it a crime to name ASIO employees or persons "in any way connected with...an [ASIO] officer, employee or agent." Other laws simply serve to legalize intelligence operations which had been conducted illegally before.

Rooted in Secrecy can be ordered from CAPP, 8 Leicester Street, Balwyn North, Victoria, 3104, Australia for $20.00 (includes postage).

What the Australian intelligence agencies really do, . . . is to keep Australia safe for multinational corporations and the U.S. military.

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The Secret Work of John Barron

Readers of Reader's Digest have reason to question its Senior Editor, John Barron, who is quick to accuse people of being KGB dupes. His accusations, usually dismissable as unsubstantiated, warrant concern because the President of the United States recently cited a Barron article as proof positive that millions of people in the U.S. involved in the nuclear weapons freeze and disarmament movement are KGB dupes. In assessing Barron's writings, one should be aware that he is a rightwing ideologue who has written in collaboration with the CIA - an organization which is in the busines of propagandizing and duping people.

In a series of articles aptly entitled, "CIA: Secret Shaper of Public Opinion," the New York Times said that the CIA secretly "assisted" a Barron book with an "operational purpose" (NYT, 12/25/77). This means that Barron and the CIA secretly targeted the book's readership for shaping if not manipulation. Barron's book, KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents was published by Reader's Digest Press, with E.P. Dutton and Company. Since it was sold in the U.S., people here were the secret target, even though the CIA is prohibited from producing domestic propaganda.

Barron's recent article, referenced by Reagan, was based in part on his CIA-assisted book. As if that were not enough, the CIA secretly reviewed Barron's book without acknowledging its role. Reviews of CIA-assisted books by secret CIA contract employees have made their way into a number of U.S. publications including the New York Times (12/26/77). Thus, the CIA is secretly monitoring and reviewing books published in the U.S. with the presumed objective of promoting or suppressing them.

The self-serving pap dished up by the CIA review of Barron's book (obtained under the Freedom of Information Act) included the following:

> This is a compendium of information on the State Security Service of the Soviet Union, exceeding any of its predecessors by the range, depth and accuracy of its treatment of the subject. No one who pretends to expertise on Soviet security and intelligence matters will be able to do his work without reference to this book. This book for the present moment is the authoritative word on the subject.... Barron is clearly without a peer....
>
> It is to Barron's credit that his book is so persuasive and so carefully documented that strident attacks on it are hard to mount . . . .
>
> But here we are in a world dedicated to detente, and from Australia to San Francisco the long way 'round everybody jumps on the band wagon and says this is a bully book, very important for our times. Of course, it is....

Writers like Barron and publications like Reader's Digest, which secretly work with the CIA, cheapen life and undermine trust in what is supposed to be an open society. Ironically, the CIA review accused Soviet officials of "an unctous hypocrisy". It is a charge applicable to the CIA, John Barron, and the Reader's Digest.

Foreign Policy Briefing

Derrick Knight, BEYOND THE PALE: THE CHRISTIAN POLITICAL FRINGE, Caraf Publications (Vicare Flat, Carr St., Leigh, Lancashire, England), 1982. Documents South African government funding of rightist "Christian" organizations. Details South African Department of Information role in the campaign to slander the World Council of Churches for "aiding terrorism" in Southern Africa.

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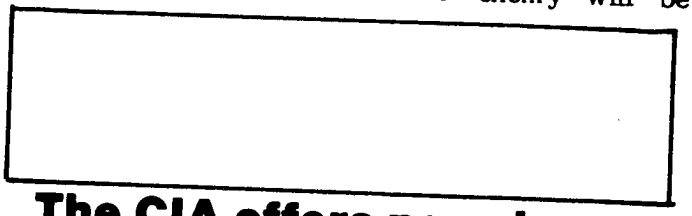
Documents

U.S. Nuclear War Plans for Europe

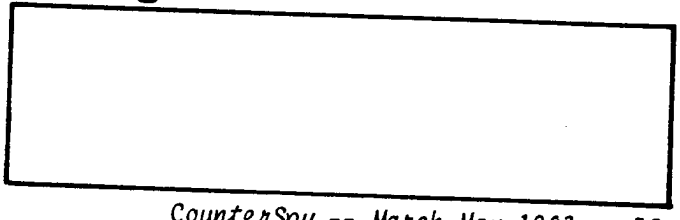
One set of secret documents that the CIA claims the KGB "forged" and sent to various publications describes U.S. nuclear war plans from the 1960s. These documents reveal that the U.S. was prepared to drop nearly 100 nuclear weapons on West Germany if it were perceived to be threatened by invading Soviet troops. The war plans also demonstrate U.S. designs for a global nuclear war, which included dropping atom bombs on military facilities and cities in the Middle East and neutral countries in Europe, again to "deny" them to the Soviet Union.

These documents first received public attention when the West German weekly Stern published articles based on them in 1970. At that time, U.S. military officials confirmed the authenticity of these documents, according to Stern and Frankfurter Rundschau, a major West German daily. There was no hint of forgery then. Twelve years later, the CIA itself had a hard time deciding precisely how to discredit the documents in congressional hearings. They are alternately called "forgeries," and "a mixture of authentic and altered U.S. war plans," and at one point the CIA claims only that the publication of the documents in various papers was a "Soviet operation.")

After Stern published the war plans, the West German Defense Ministry released an official statement which did not question their authenticity, although it criticized Stern for allegedly misinterpreting some segments of the documents. Still, the government statement confirmed the basic thrust of the Stern articles, i.e. that the U.S. was willing to destroy areas inside West Germany in order to halt a Warsaw Pact advance: "Everybody who agrees with the defensive effort in case of war," stated the Ministry, "will wish that the enemy will be



The CIA offers no evidence, never mind proof, that the documents were forged. One can think of numerous reasons why the CIA might want to claim that the plans were "forged."



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prevented effectively from penetrating deeply into the Federal Republic." Blocking the probable invasion route, which according to the Stern articles is to be done with nuclear weapons, "is an integral part of that effort."

The CIA offers no evidence, never mind proof, that the documents were forged. One can think of numerous reasons why the CIA might want to claim that the plans were "forged." For one, they show that NATO is not exactly the defensive alliance U.S. officials want people to believe it is. Moreover, the documents continue to be referenced and reprinted, e.g. in the West German book CIA in Westeuropa* (1982) and the London New Statesman (1980).

Before the New Statesman published its article based on the documents ("How to Blow Up the World"), it submitted the documents to the U.S. embassy in London for comment. The magazine specifically asked the Embassy whether these were copies of the documents taken out of a NATO safe and sent to the Soviet Union by U.S. Sergeant Robert Johnson in the 1960s. "Nothing would indicate otherwise," responded Jim Dobbins, a political counselor. Thus, while these documents probably were routed through the Soviet Union, the U.S. Embassy did not question their validity.

When the Frankfurter Rundschau printed a front-page article based on the nuclear war documents in 1970, the paper editorialized: "Old stories should not be on the front page of a daily newspaper. And outdated stories even less. With our article about how the U.S. would have responded to an attack from the East seven years ago by demolishing bridges [in West Germany] with atomic weapons...we seem to be in violation

of this journalistic principle. But nevertheless. This story belongs on page one.... It would be foolish to believe that today's war plans are much different. The... papers prove that our Europe will not survive a Third World War....This prognosis is not new, but it is not outdated either."

CounterSpy is reprinting these documents because we believe that entirely unsubstantiated CIA and FBI allegations about their nature should not prevent people from reading and discussing them. The CIA and the FBI are presenting no documentation to back up their "forgery" charges, while the evidence indicating that the documents are authentic is strong. Moreover, the war plans are consistent with other publicly available U.S. government documents which demonstrate the offensive character of U.S. nuclear policy. (See "U.S. War Plans Against the Soviet Union," and "AirLand Battle: The Army's New Aggressive Doctrine," CounterSpy, vol. 7 no.2; "U.S. Army Manuals Say: We Can Win a Nuclear War," Counterspy, vol. 7 no.1: "Nuclear War is not Unthinkable: For the Pentagon, it's an Option," CounterSpy, vol. 6 no.4).

*CIA in Westeuropa by Guenter Neuberger and Michael Opperskalski contains some 50 pages of reprints of the nuclear war documents. It is available from Lamuv Verlag, Martinstrasse 7, 5303 Bornheim-Merten, West Germany. Neuberger and Opperskalski also wrote CIA im Iran, published by Lamuv Verlag, which reprints many of the secret documents found in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran.

Nuclear Yield Requirements

A U.S. Air Force Nuclear Yield Requirements manual from the 1960s contains a listing of well over 2,800 targets the U.S. Air Force was to be prepared to bomb with nuclear weapons in case of war. The yields range from 2.5 kilotons (one quarter of the Hiroshima bomb) to 1.4 megatons (140 times the yield of the Hiroshima bomb). The most striking aspect of the manual is that numerous potential U.S. nuclear weapons targets are located in friendly or neutral countries. The Air Force was apparently planning to destroy these targets to "deny" them to the Soviet Union.

There are 47 targets in West Germany to be hit with 93 atom bombs, more than 20 in Finland (including Helsinki airport, Turku and Tampere), over a dozen targets in Austria (including Vienna, Klagenfurt, Innsbruck, Graz and Linz), numerous targets in Yugoslavia (including two in Beograd), and several target cities in Albania. In the Middle East, the Air Force listed Syria (e.g., Damascus, Aleppo, Homs and Hama), Iran (e.g., three bombs on Tehran, one each on Hamadan, Esfahan, Abadan, Tabriz and Kermanshah), Iraq (e.g. Baghdad West, Basra, Mosul and Kirkuk) and Egypt (e.g., three bombs on Cairo).

None of the Eastern European targets in the manual are "hard" targets, such as missile silos. They are bridges, dams and airfields. Apparently, even back in

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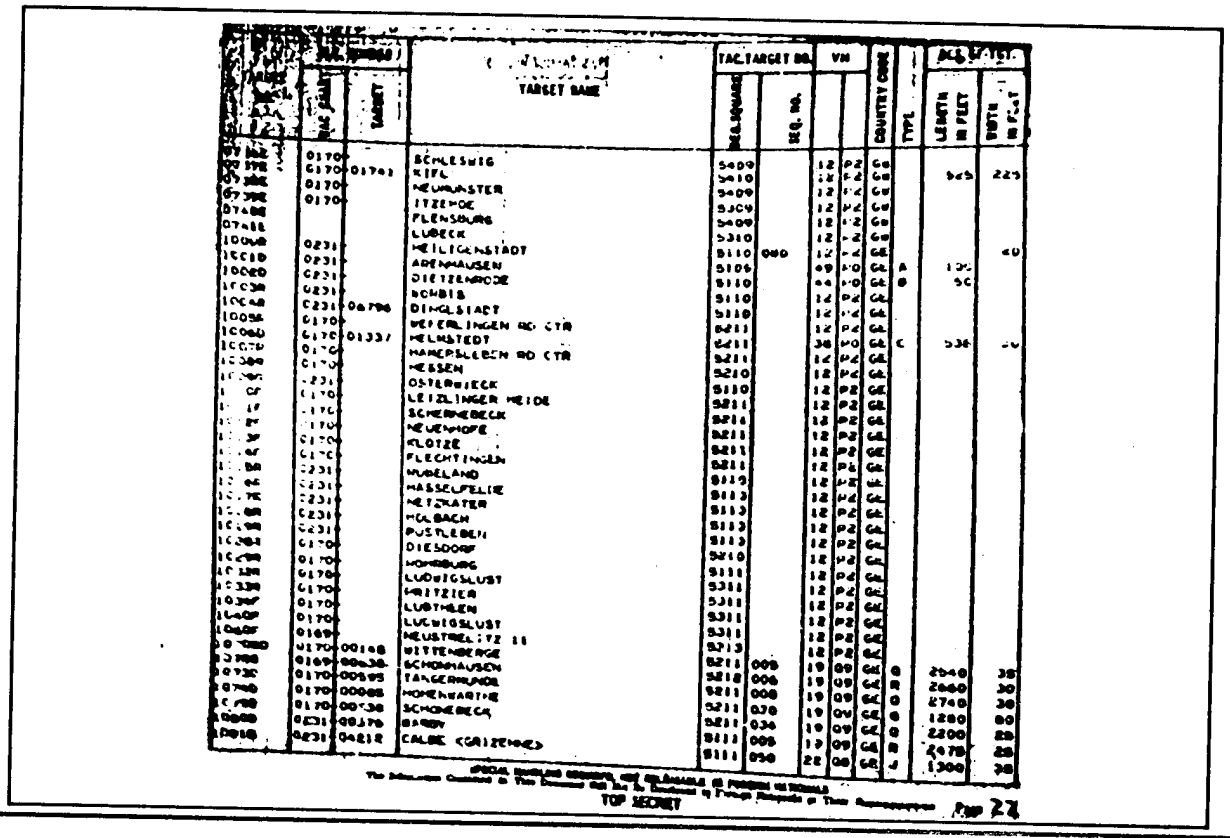
the early 1960s, the U.S. had such a nuclear overkill capacity that it could consider using atomic weapons even for such relatively minor targets. Of course, the manual will have undergone changes in the last 20 years. However, commented the New Statesman, "according to specialists at the International Institute of Strategic Studies" in London, the "target list will not have been altered, but merely expanded."



TOP SECRET

Page 24

OPLAN 100-6

Operations Plan 100-6 of June 15, 1964, with its Attack Options I and II, provides for a "preemptive" NATO attack on Eastern Europe. Such an attack, according to the document, is to be launched in "response to unequivocal strategic warning of impending Sino-Soviet Bloc attack upon the U.S. or its allies." Under this plan, a decision to drop atomic bombs on targets in Eastern Europe depends entirely on an intelligence assessment of the threat. No actual hostile military actions by the Warsaw Pact are needed to provoke NATO to launch nuclear weapons. The mission of the preemptive move by NATO, as described by this plan, is not simply to prevent an attack on Western Europe, but to "penetrate into certain European satellite areas in order to create situations favorable to successful satellite rebellion against Bloc domination."

Headquarters
US European Command
APO 128 US Forces
15 June 1964

OPERATION PLAN
USCINCEUR NR 100-6

Task Organization

a. US Army Europe CINCUSAREUR
b. US Naval Forces Europe CINCUSNAVEUR
c. US Air Forces in Europe CINCUSAFE
d. CIA Force Europe COMCIAEUR
e. Support Operations Task Force Europe ...

1. (TS) SITUATION

a. General

(1) The Joint Chiefs of Staff have directed the Commander in Chief, United States European Command to plan to conduct early offensive operations in event of US pre-emptive attack. The definition of US pre-emption is "... US attack is launched in response to unequivocal strategic warning of impending major Sino-Soviet Bloc attack upon the US or its allies, with US forces worldwide being in a state of advanced readiness." The Joint Chiefs of Staff have directed that the general war plans of unified and specified commanders and the Single Integrated Operation Plan (SIOP) will provide for execution by SIOP forces, when directed by competent authority, of two pre-emptive US Attack Options. They are Attack Option I in which the objective is the destruction or neutralization of the Sino-Soviet Bloc strategic nuclear delivery forces posing a threat to the US and its allies and to US and allied forces overseas; and Attack Option II in which the objective is that of Option I plus the destruction and neutralization of other elements of Sino-Soviet Bloc military forces and military resources in being. ...

Assumptions.

(1) That, if all of NATO does not join in the pre-emptive attacks and subsequent offensive operations, as a minimum, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Greece and Turkey will participate. ...

(3) That the pre-emptive attacks reduce Bloc tactical air support to a point where allied military forces are able to gain the local air superiority required to sup-

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port military operations.

(4) That political decisions to withhold nuclear attack against certain countries do not leave Soviet military capabilities directly affecting the success of allied operations in the combat area.

(5) That allied resources in Europe survive to that extent necessary to initiate a limited number of local penetrations into certain European satellite areas. ...

(10) That U.S. political and psychological warfare efforts on the government level have prepared the satellite peoples for phased resistance, sabotage and uprisings in support of allied penetrations.

2. (TS) MISSION. In case pre-emptive nuclear attacks are decided upon, US Forces in Europe, with major European allied military forces, will participate in the pre-emptive strikes and exploit military and political opportunities thus generated to penetrate into certain European satellite areas in order to create situations favorable to successful satellite rebellion against Bloc domination. ...

3. (TS) EXECUTION.

...

d. Commander in Chief, U.S. Air Forces in Europe (CINCUSAFE)

(1) Deliver nuclear attacks, as ordered, in support of Attack Option II of the SIOP and the Scheduled and Regional Programs of SACEUR's NSP. ...

(3) Conduct maximum reconnaissance to determine the effectiveness of the pre-emptive attack, targets for further nuclear strikes and enemy reaction to the initiation of hostilities.

(4) As directed, strike important targets in SACEUR's NSP which are not struck because allies elect not to support the pre-emptive attack. ...

e. Commander, Central Intelligence Agency Force, Europe (COMCIAEUR)

(1) Conduct covert psychological warfare operations as directed by USCINCEUR and in support of national efforts in the USEUCOM area, keeping USCINCEUR informed. Endeavor to assure that satellite peoples stage insurrections phased to support and to exploit opportunities growing from the ground battle scheme of maneuver. ...

TOP SECRET

Annex A

Annex A of OPLAN 100-6 suggests that NATO planners believed that war could be limited to Central Europe and the Soviet Union. According to the document, NATO forces would "liberate" Czechoslovakia and East Germany after wiping out large sectors of the Warsaw Pact armies and of the Soviet strategic nuclear forces. Annex A describes the CIA's task in such a scenario: to "support dissident elements in the Soviet Bloc areas and secure their assistance in acts of sabotage and insurgency."

The document admits that "the nuclear exchange will result in extensive damage" but then goes on to treat military operations without reference to the fact that the nuclear weapons dropped by NATO and by the Soviet Union might not leave many people to be "liberated" by the invading NATO troops.

Headquarters
US EUROPEAN COMMAND
APO 128 US Forces

Annex A to USCINCEUR OPLAN NR 100-6. CONCEPT OF OPERATION

...

(3) Psychological warfare offensive to gain support for U.S. pre-emptive attacks and the subsequent penetrations.

(a) Initial efforts will be concentrated on gaining satellite support for the pre-emptive attack as being necessary to prepare the way for liberation in due course. These efforts will include action to prevent premature uprisings that cannot be militarily supported during the early period of hostilities.

(b) Subsequent efforts will focus on assuring uprisings in coordination with the ground battle scheme of maneuver.

(4) The Commander Central Intelligence Agency Force, Europe, and Commander Support Operations Task Force, Europe will develop contact with and support dissident elements in the Soviet Bloc areas and secure their assistance in acts of sabotage and insurgency in order to degrade enemy military capabilities to oppose allied penetration.

(5) Participation in allied penetrations. Insofar as preparations for offensive operations is concerned, the pre-emptive attack can result in a broad spectrum of political and military success. The enemy military capabilities may be grossly degraded if Attack Option II is executed as assumed in this plan, or they, particularly his ground forces, may survive nearly intact if Attack Option I or selective withholding is directed. Satellite populations, if properly prepared, may be favorably disposed toward liberation so that they will, upon the appearance of authentic U.S. and allied military support, rise against the Bloc and assist in the defeat of enemy forces. Accordingly, USEUCOM forces, in consort with participating allied forces will undertake penetrations to Berlin (U.S. and West German forces) and Prague (predominantly U.S. forces). Maximum mobility, including air drop will be exploited in order to exploit the shock effect of the pre-emptive attack.

Annex E

Annex E to OPLAN 100-6 describes how the "establishment of governments friendly and cooperative with the Free World" is to be ensured after the occupation of Eastern European countries. The document discusses reconstruction after nuclear war in such detail that it even recommends the reestablishment of "religious organizations that may have been purged" by the then-deposed Communist governments.

The document predicts that the "nuclear exchange" will have severely damaged many "municipalities and industrial areas" which will require "substantial assistance" from the United States. In this way U.S. planners apparently hoped to lay the groundwork for another Marshall Plan - and future U.S. economic domination of West Europe, plus East Germany and Czechoslovakia. According to the documents, the U.S. intends to gain this dominance in part by preventing East and West Germany from becoming a united country which would hold the potential of becoming a significant economic power by itself: the U.S. will "coordinate the re-establishment of a friendly government in East Germany... taking all possible measures to prevent a reunification of West and East Germanys."

Annex E to USCINCEUR OPLAN NR 100-6. CIVIL AFFAIRS

e. Assumptions.

...

(2) US control of satellite ar-

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eas will be required initially, and qualified Civil Affairs (C5) staffs for all echelons of command will be established from military and civilian resources in EUCOM, or have a high priority for movement from CONUS. ...

(5) The Federal Republic of Germany will insist on strong representation in the administration of military government in East Germany in order to provide conditions for the future annexation of East Germany without difficulty. ...

(7) The nuclear exchange will result in extensive damage to many municipalities and industrial areas, and will require substantial assistance to restore the economic viability in these areas.

(8) East Germany and Czechoslovakia may be accorded a status of co-belligerency upon the establishment of a friendly government.

2. (TS) MISSION.

USCINCEUR will conduct civil affairs operations in Western Europe, and employ the military government phase of civil affairs in satellite countries, to insure the establishment of governments friendly and cooperative with the Free World.

3. (TS) EXECUTION.

a. Concept of Operations.

...

(2) Upon the establishment of an Allied Command, USCINCEUR will instigate the establishment of an Allied Civil Affairs Committee, to assist him in discharging his responsibilities in the military government phase of civil affairs planning and operations.

...

(3) USCINCEUR will coordinate the re-establishment of a friendly government in East Germany with the Federal Republic of Germany in order to reinstate a new government in consonance with the Federal Republic, and to enlist assistance from the Federal Republic in reconstituting the new administration, taking all possible measures to prevent the reunification of West and East Germanys.

b. Commander in Chief, United States Army, Europe (CINCUSAREUR)

(1) Conduct Civil Affairs operations in Western Europe as required to support operations.

(2) Conduct Military Government in East Germany and Czechoslovakia until relieved by this Headquarters. ...

(6) Coordinate with the military forces of the Federal Republic of Germany and other Allies cooperating with the US, in the conduct of military government operations in East Germany. ...

(8) Control partisan and clandestine operations and the movement of refugees and evacuees, to preclude interference with military operations, and for the security of US and Allied Forces. ...

(12) Establish contact with persons identified as sympathetic to the West and known to have governmental and leadership potential for use in reconstituting administrations friendly and cooperative with the Free World.

(13) Employ PSYWAR Consolidation Units in Support of Civil Affairs Groups.

4. (TS) ADMINISTRATION AND LOGISTICS

a. Administration. ...

(1) Governmental Functions....

(c) Public Safety. Commanders will utilize, to the extent feasible, existing public safety organizations during the combat phase; a complete examination of the public safety organization will be required as early as possible. Civil defense plans will be coordinated with military rear area defense and damage control plans...

(g) Labor. Existing labor organizations will be dissolved pending a complete examination of the Communist apparatus in this field. Local laws, wages and practices will be respected consistent with the requirements of the military forces.

(f) Public Education. School buildings and other educational facilities will not be used when

U.S. Nazi Terror Squads in West Germany

In the early 1950s, the United States not only had plans for CIA-supported "guerrilla" operations should part of Western Europe be occupied (see documents), it was also running a terror organization of well over 1000 persons who were prepared to assassinate leading West German Social Democrats and Communists should the danger of war become immediate. Most of the members of the terror organization were former Nazi and SS officers.

The existence of the organization was brought to light in a speech to the West German parliament by August Zinn, then President of the State of Hesse. Zinn published a list of names of the people who were to be killed and informed parliament that the organization was funded by U.S. intelligence. (James Warburg, an advisor to the U.S. government at the time, wrote that the intelligence agency in question was the CIA.) The terror teams were trained under the supervision of U.S. officers and had to pledge allegiance to their cause on Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf (My Struggle).

Shortly after Zinn made his disclosure in October 1952, Bavaria's Interior Minister Wilhelm Hogner announced that U.S. intelligence had been financing and training a second terror squad, this one in Bavaria. Lessons included "interrogation techniques" and "killing without a trace." After these disclosures, embarrassed U.S. officials said the program had been terminated. Nonetheless, the U.S. continued to protect the leader of one of the terror groups who was sought by the West German police.

(Sources: James Warburg, Germany - Key to Peace, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Ma., 1953; Frankfurter Rundschau, 10/10-22/52; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 10/9/52, 10/14/52; New York Times, 10/9/52, 10/12/52, 10/14/52.)

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